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A STUDY OF THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE LION

IN ISLAMIC ART

BY

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Edinburgh.

1993



## ABSTRACT

Throughout the centuries, the lion has generally been acknowledged as a symbol of power in numerous cultures. It exercises magic and talismanic functions as a sign of the zodiac. The lion as the king of the beasts has long fascinated and challenged man. It plays a large part in the decorative arts and mythologies of many cultures and Islam is no exception. The aim of this thesis is to determine the range of meaning attributed to the lion as a motif in Islamic art, through its use in the decorative arts, miniature painting and textiles.

A catalogue of some four hundred and sixty examples of the lion as an iconographic symbol on carpets, ceramics, metalwork, stone, textiles and other media has been drawn up. Within each category pieces have been arranged in chronological sequence and their motifs have been identified. The aim has been to assemble a reasonable sample of works upon which to base an investigation of the role of the lion in Islamic art.

The text analyses the themes found in the catalogue. Each motif is placed in its historical context with reference to the antecedents of the decorative design and the likely meaning in an Islamic context, supported where possible by writings of the period. Chapter One addresses briefly the description and illustration of the lion in Muslim scientific texts. Chapter Two analyses the lion-bull combat theme. Chapter Three opens with a discussion of images showing man hunting the lion and concludes with a discussion of the lion in association with other animals. Chapter Four discusses two literary works often illustrated with miniatures depicting lions - namely the Kalila wa Dimna tales and the Shahnama. It closely analyses the texts for descriptions of the lion and what it may symbolise in a given context. Chapter Five embraces a diversity of motifs including the image of the lion as found on Islamic coins, lion-masks, lion and

throne imagery, the lion-tree motif in textiles and the lion as a single image. Chapter Six discusses the zodiac and the lion as an astrological symbol. Conclusions are drawn in Chapter Seven.

The thesis aims to assess the art-historical evidence for the use of the lion in Islamic art. It endeavours to provide a firm basis from which to study the significance of the lion in medieval Muslim culture. Literary and historical evidence is brought in where appropriate in order to elucidate the meaning of the visual imagery. Much work still remains to be done, but the collecting together of a range of pieces bearing a variety of iconographical interpretations of the lion is a vital step in determining the role of this animal in Islamic art and culture.



Dedicated to my husband Chris Kershaw and  
to the memory of Denis Mason Hurley.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the staff of the Bodleian Library, the Cambridge University Library, David James of the Chester Beatty Library and the British Library. I would especially like to thank the British Museum for allowing me free access to the collections and granting me two weeks study leave.

Professor Robert Hillenbrand, my supervisor, has shared his scholarly wisdom unstintingly and provided much encouragement. It has been my privilege to know him as a scholar and a person.

The University provided financial support from 1983 to 1986. My thanks are due to the Faculty of Arts Scholarship Fund for awarding me a Vans Dunlop Scholarship and the Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme for awarding me a scholarship.

Last but by no means least my thanks are due to my husband, Chris Kershaw, for his support, encouragement and practical assistance in word-processing the thesis.

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## CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

The lion's role in Islamic art has been studied in articles such as 'The Conquering Lion'<sup>1</sup> and 'Lion Masks'<sup>2</sup>. Tanavoli discusses the symbolism of the lion in his book on lion rugs.<sup>3</sup> The lion is, however, such a prevalent image in Islamic art that it deserves a larger study. The aim of this thesis is to determine the significance of the lion as a motif in Muslim art, through its use in the decorative arts, miniature painting and textiles. The material has been taken mainly from published examples; a catalogue of some four hundred and sixty examples has been drawn up. This catalogue is divided according to media: carpets, ceramics, metalwork, a miscellaneous category encompassing glass, ivory and stone, concluding with textiles. Within each category pieces are arranged in chronological sequence and identified as to motif. The catalogue is, of course, not a comprehensive record of the countless number of objects, paintings and textiles bearing images of lions in collections of Islamic art. However, a reasonable sample of works has been catalogued upon which to base an investigation of the ways in which the lion is used as an image and of the possible meanings of such a use in Islamic art. The catalogue is therefore intended to provide a reasonable cross-section from which to draw generalisations. It endeavours to provide first-hand visual evidence of how the lion is used in Islamic art.

An examination of the catalogue and illustrations demonstrates a major problem, that of the identification of an animal as a lion when there is no text so identifying it. In the case of miniature paintings the accompanying text or title of the miniature provides a clue even if the representation of the lion has become very much a question of artistic license. In examples such as the Kalila wa Dimna manuscript of 1307-8 AD (Cat. 199-210, figs. 157-159) visual appearance and text marry well, as they do in Shahnama episodes such as Bahram Gur killing the lions to attain the throne (Cat. 322, fig. 171). Generally, even

if the proportions of the body may differ between miniatures, the lion is characteristically shown with a broad face, lines indicating a mane and is brown in colour. Even in miniature paintings identification is not always clear-cut. The miniature painting from the Anvar-i Suhaili manuscript of 1803 AD (Cat. 365) is catalogued by Titley as showing the hare outwitting the lion. The 'lion' lies sprawling, tawny brown with a luxuriant mane, tiger-eye markings and a black ringed tail. No lion has ever had such markings! One can only conclude that the artist had either not seen a lion or was confused as to what he should represent.

In other media, however, identification is often easy. For instance on the Persian carpet (Cat. 32, fig. 29) the animal is clearly a lion in face and body shape and sports a luxuriant though somewhat stylized mane. The animal shown on the terracotta footscraper (Cat. 50, fig. 42) is also without doubt a lion. Identification proves straightforward on pieces showing the signs of the zodiac such as on the metal bowl known as the Vaso Vescovali (Cat. 136, fig. 110) in that although the style of the representation may vary, the context and accompanying iconographical details, eg. the sun, identify the lion. Other pieces, however, do present problems. For instance the brass candlestick (Cat. 142, fig. 115) shows two bands of what appear to be rather dog-like lions. Are they stylized lions or dogs? Art historians have read them as lions. On another piece, as for instance, the bowl (Cat. 182, fig. 145) the quadruped under the throne appears rather boar-like, yet occupies a similar position to the more veristic lions shown on a basin (Cat. 168, fig. 135). The iconography would indicate that it should be read as a lion. I have tried to indicate where identification is uncertain, yet context would lead one to believe that the animal should be regarded as representing a lion. There are other examples in which one should go no further than describing the animal as feline, as for instance the dish (Cat. 45, fig. 37) considered by Pope to show a lion. Another dish (Cat. 48, fig. 40) seems to show a hybrid animal - as the face and ears are lion-like and

there are lines indicating a mane, yet the body is spotted. Perhaps these pieces should have been excluded, yet as they may represent individual interpretations of a lion they are still relevant to our study.

Literary and historical evidence is brought in where appropriate in order to elucidate the possible meanings of the visual imagery. This brings us to another major problem facing the art historian attempting to undertake such a study. There remains a great deal of work to be done in assembling the scattered literary evidence which bears on how medieval Muslims regarded the lion. In particular little more than a beginning has been made by Arabists and Iranists in translating Jahiliya<sup>4</sup> poetry and passages from the later Arabic and Persian medieval scientific and literary texts. Yet this material has a direct bearing on the interpretation of the visual material. Pre-Islamic poetry had an overw<sup>helm</sup>ing influence on the literature and culture of Islam. The poetry of this period was regarded by Arabic speaking Muslims as the model of unapproachable excellence. It established many of the traditions carried on in later literature. It acted as a vehicle for the remembering of glorious deeds and for the inculcation of shared moral values and chivalrous behaviour in a nomadic society.<sup>5</sup> It lay behind many of the themes found in Islamic literature and art. For instance, it stressed a hedonistic view of life concerned with love, wine, gambling, hunting, song and romance. Many of the poems described animals of the desert or a journey to reach a loved one, passing through a desert and taking part in hunts. Sometimes they described attacks by wild animals such as Abu Zubayd's account of being attacked by a lion.<sup>6</sup>

This body of information remains on the whole, closed to the non-linguist, yet must have a considerable bearing on the art and culture of Islam. The position of Arabia as a trading nation in the 6th century and during the early Islamic period too, must have a bearing on the arts of Islam. There were thriving cities, a vigorous trade with



the Sasanian and Byzantine empires and large Jewish and Christian communities, each bringing their own cultural and artistic influences as evidenced by archaeological excavations in this region.<sup>7</sup> As more research is done in this area, the patterns of artistic influence will become more clear. It should be noted that no formal system of transliteration has been followed in the thesis with regard to foreign words. Spelling has been simplified or follows that used in secondary sources.

#### SCIENTIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS OF LIONS

A genre of works often illustrated with drawings or paintings of lions are the Islamic cosmographies. An interest in zoology first manifested itself in Islam in the 8th century with a series of lexicographical works largely concerned with domestic animals, especially the horse and the camel. In the later 8th and 9th centuries philologists frequently wrote about animals. Al-Asma'i (739-831 AD) discussed the ox, ass, antelope, mountain goat, ostrich, wolf, hyena, fox and hare. He is regarded as the first authority on zoology in Islam. Al-Aufi, discussing animals, divided them into four categories: the temperaments of animals, wild beasts, strange animals and curious birds, respectively.

The most important author of this period to write in this regard was the Mu'tazilite, al-Jahiz. His book the Kitab al-Hayawan (The Book of Animals) written in 869 AD considerably influenced later writers. Written in seven volumes this work aims not at scientific study but to demonstrate the existence of God as manifested in things of the created world. He divides created things into three categories: similar, different and opposite. Animals are divided into those which: walk, fly, swim or crawl. He collates oral tradition and past information on three hundred and fifty animals.

During the ninthth and tenth centuries compilations of information about animals continued to be popular. Ibn Qutayba included a large section about animals in his 'Uyun al-Akhbar (The Most

Essential Information). During this time the Kitab Na't al-Hayawan (The Book of the Qualities of Animals) attributed to Aristotle was assembled in translation. From the mid-10th century philosophical works included sections on animals. The second part of the Rasa'il of the Ikhwan al-Safa contains a hierarchy of created things divided into minerals, plants, animals, man and the heavenly bodies. The 11th-century physician to the Caliph of Baghdad-Ibn Bakhtishu', compiled a bestiary entitled the Manafi' al-Hayawan (The Uses of Animals) which was translated from Arabic into Persian in the 13th century and illustrated with ninety four miniatures.<sup>8</sup>

In the late 13th and early 14th centuries a series of cosmologies were written with major sections devoted to discussions of animals. The most famous of these is al-Qazwini's Aja'ib al-Makluqat wa Ghara'ib al-Mawjudat (The Wonders of Creation and Oddities of Existence). Al-Qazwini lived between 1203 and 1283 AD. This cosmography was dedicated to al-Juwayni, Governor of Iraq under Hulagu and Abaka. Its organisation closely follows that of the Ikhwan as-Safa's section on natural sciences. It is in two parts. His criteria for division was the animals' methods of defence rendered thus: animals which repel their enemies by their strength, for instance the lion and the elephant, those which flee to protect themselves, for example the gazelle, hares and birds, those equipped with a special means of defence, for example the hedgehog and those which live in a protective fortress such as snakes.<sup>9</sup> The second part of his cosmology deals with the sphere of the earth and the three earthly kingdoms of matter: animal, vegetable and mineral. He classifies animals under the following headings: Man, Jinns, Mounts, Tame animals, Wild Animals, Birds, Reptiles and Insects and finally Strange Aberrations of Natural Forms.<sup>10</sup> Al-Qazwini influenced other writers including Hamdullah al-Mustaufi al-Qazwini and al-Damiri. In common with earlier writers al-Qazwini states that he is writing in order to describe the glories of God in all things heavenly and earthly.

The zoological section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulub of Hamdullah al-Musta'fi al-Qazwini divides animals into three categories: those of the land, sea and air. Land animals are further subdivided into domestic animals, wild animals, beasts of prey, poisonous animals and creeping things and finally animals certain of whose members resemble man. He assigns a separate paragraph for each animal arranged in alphabetical order of the Arabic names of the animals.<sup>11</sup>

In the late 14th century al-Damiri (d. 1405) wrote his book the Hayat al-Hayawan al-Kubra (The Great Book on the Life of Animals). This book does not suggest any new classifications but does bring together all the philological comments, traditions, juridical status, proverbs and magical and medicinal properties of animals from other works. It also provides a section in interpretation of dreams in which animals appear. It is the most complete extant book on zoology in Islam.<sup>12</sup>

Medieval writings in Islamic zoology stemmed from three sources: pre-Islamic Arabic tradition, Graeco-Alexandrian and Indo-Persian writings. The folklore of early Arabia dealt sparsely with animal stories, but had a store of proverbs connected with animals. Graeco-Alexandrian sources included a treatise on zoology attributed to Hippocrates, the Historia Animalium of Aristotle, reportedly translated by Al-Batriqi and some Byzantine writings. The Indo-Persian tradition was concerned with the spiritual and moral significance of animal life.

Translations of Arabic zoological works are scanty and incomplete, making research into this area difficult for the western scholar. The following discussion of the lion and its habits as seen in medieval Muslim zoological treatises will therefore centre on translated writings and fragments.

A fragmentary manuscript of al-Jahiz at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan has been summarised and the miniatures discussed by Oscar Lofgren and Carl Johan Lamm.<sup>13</sup> The miniatures are linked with the appropriate sections of the text. A king is shown wearing a crown,

holding a drawn sword, sitting on an ornamental throne, while two lions huddle at his feet. The king is Dhu'l-Qainain and the accompanying text reads thus:

And likewise was (it with) Du-l-Karnain: his mother ... was human, but his father ... was one of the angels.<sup>14</sup>

In another illustration a lion is in the process of eating the entrails of a cow. The text reads:

The lion is the King of the Beasts of prey, and it eats carcasses ..., and it begins by drinking the blood, then it opens the stomach and eats what is in it of food and saliva and the intestines together with the evacuation.<sup>15</sup>

The style of the so-called Ambrosian fragments dates them to the 14th century. In the illustrations concerned with lions, the animal is shown with a dark body, lighter mane, rippled light spotted underbelly and whipping tail. The cow's carcass is shown upside down with the lion ripping out its underbelly.<sup>16</sup>

The illustrations of two lions in the Manafi' al-Hayawan of Ibn Bakhtishu in the Pierpont Morgan library shows two lions, one crouched head up, the other seated. They appear to be talking. Both have manes, stylistically differentiated. The crouching lion sports a mane composed of ovoids, while the other lion's mane is executed in curling ringlets. Both lions have barred markings on their nose, wrinkles around their eyes and large teeth. Foliage and birds surround them. The text accompanying the picture has been freely translated.

Of all wild animals the lion is the strongest. Fearing no other animal, he travels alone and not in groups. He does not attack women or children, he flees from nothing as he does from a little ant. He is afraid of a white rooster and does no harm to a caravan in which a rooster is found. He is quieted by hearing a sweet musical voice; when he bathes himself he becomes so gentle that a child might sit on him and lead him everywhere. The bone of his neck and spine is one solid piece: for this reason he cannot turn his neck. His bones contain no marrow. By rubbing or striking them together, one can produce fire. When the lion scents the hunter he effaces his footprints behind him with the end of his tail. Lion's flesh produces bad humours but is good for paralysis. A lion's tooth on a child makes teething easier.<sup>17</sup>

As can be seen, the information is a mixture of supposition and zoological information. The illustration to accompany the text does

not clearly reflect the observations made in the passage. Ibn Bakhtishu owes a debt to Aristotle, who states in his Historia Animalium that the lion does not seem to have marrow in its bones, although there may be a little in the bones of the thigh and foreleg. He also says that the bones are hard enough to emit fire when struck.<sup>18</sup> Aristotle describes the lion as being cruel when it is feeding, but of gentle disposition in other circumstances.<sup>19</sup>

The Nuzhatu-l-Qulub of Hamdullah al-Mustaufi al-Qazwini states the following concerning the use of animals in general

"The decree of Eternal wisdom has contrived the natural form of animals for the warding off of the pernicious and deadly evils which may ensue from the infections of the air, that so there might be ease for the constitution of man, the perfected of perfections."<sup>20</sup>

He records the names given for the lion, respectively, asad, dirgham, ghadanfar, gaswarat, laith and hzabr by the Arabs and arslan by the Turks.<sup>21</sup> He states that it is the most powerful of all the beasts of prey, called the King of Beasts as

"he does no injury to a menstruous woman; and any animal that approaches him with sub-mission he neither pursues nor injures; he is jealous of the female. And these qualities are those of kings; therefore he is called the King of the Beasts."<sup>22</sup>

The paragraph on the lion reasserts ibn Bakhtishu's belief that the lion is afraid of a white cock, adding also a peacock and fire. The ass dreads the lion as does the elephant his natural enemy. The lion in turn, as mentioned in the Manafi' al-Hayawan, dreads the ant, which gets into his paws, killing him.<sup>22</sup>

The Nuzhatu-l-Qulub lists the properties of the lion thus:

"Its brain allays tremors. Its bile makes a man brave and courageous, and cures epilepsy and ringworm of the scalp; used as an eyewash it cures bloodshot eyes; as an ointment it resolves tuberculous glands. Its fat is beneficial for piles, severe inflammations and boils. If the fat of its eye along with oil of roses be rubbed on the face, it will take on a formidable appearance; and it is useful in hemiplegia and paralysis. Its blood is beneficial in cancer. Sleeping on its skin takes away quarten fever and piles; and when its skin is made into a drum, its sound will scatter the enemies' horses."<sup>24</sup>

It is perhaps not surprising that al-Damiri, as one of the later

writers on zoology, is also one of the most prolific, his Hayat al-Hayawan containing over twenty pages dealing with the lion.<sup>25</sup>

Al-Damiri discusses the birth and suckling habits of the lion, mentioning that:

Verily, the Prophet has not lied in his words, that thou has obtained an ascendancy over man, because of his fear for any being but God, but if man were to fear God, thou wouldst not overpower him, and if man had feared none but God, thou wouldst not overpower him, and if man had feared none but God, the Blessed and High, He would not have deputed that power to another.<sup>26</sup>

Another tradition records the Prophet as having said,

'Isa ibn Maryam will descend to the earth, water trickling down his head without wetting him; he will break the cross, kill the pig, and cause wealth to abound, when safety and security will prevail on the earth, so much so that the lion and the camel, the tiger and the cow, and wolves and goats will graze together, and boys will play with snakes, but not one of them will hunt another.<sup>27</sup>

One of the stories recorded refers to a story of al-Batriqi, in which Daniel was thrown into a well and the lions licked him rather than killing him. The angel came to Daniel who asked for the identity of the angel who said he was sent by the Lord.<sup>28</sup> Another version appears in Ibn-al-Dunya's writings also recorded by al-Damiri:

..... namely that the astrologers and the learned men having come to the king, during whose reign Daniel lived, and told him, "On a certain night a child will be born who will destroy your kingdom", he ordered every child that would be born on that night to be killed. When Daniel was born, his mother threw him into a forest in which there were a lion and a lioness, who commenced to lick him and God saved him in this manner, so that what the mighty and wise God had decreed for him came to pass.<sup>29</sup>

Many pages deal with the stories of Noah and Iblis. In one a vine which Noah had planted dried up when Iblis blew on it. Iblis recommended a cure.

"O prophet of God, if you wish the vine to become green again, let me slaughter over it seven animals" ..... whereupon he slaughtered a lion, a bear, a leopard, a jackal, a dog, a fox and a cock, and poured their blood over the roots of the vine which then became instantaneously green and bore grapes of seven different colours ... on this account a drinker of wine becomes brave like the lion, strong like the bear, fierce like the leopard, talkative like the jackal, contentious like the dog, cringing like the fox and loud-voiced like the cock. Wine was therefore prohibited for the people of Noah."<sup>30</sup>

Later he goes on to talk of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of certain foods, saying most authorities consider that the eating of the lion's flesh is unlawful as the Prophet is reported to have said "It is unlawful to eat any beast of prey possessing a canine tooth."<sup>31</sup> He also mentions that it is not valid to sell the lion as no benefit can be obtained from it and the eating of its prey is unlawful.<sup>32</sup> In his wide-ranging natural history he relates proverbs concerning the lion such as "More honoured than a lion. More stinking in breath than a lion ... Bigger than a lion ... Braver than a lion ... Bolder than a lion." He also mentions that Arabs refer to fear as a lion.<sup>33</sup>

Various stories concerning the loading of the animals into Noah's Ark are related including a rather charming one which runs thus:

When Noah was ordered to take on board a pair of each of the animals, he said, 'O Lord, how am I to act in the matter of the lion and the cow, the kid and the wolf, and the pigeon and the fox?' God said to him, 'Who has caused enmity to exist between them?' and he replied, 'Thou O Lord', whereupon God said 'I shall in the same manner cause them to be friendly, so that they may not harm each other'.<sup>34</sup>

Several pages of traditions dealing with the lion in dreams and in the cure of diseases and so on are related.<sup>35</sup> Altogether al-Damiri covers a wider range of subjects, but devotes fewer pages to actually discussing the lion's physiology and habits than other authors. An interesting point is that although al-Damiri records many religious stories about the lion, there is no mention of the lion in the Quran.

Illustrations of the lion in the natural histories vary. A painting in the Aja'ib al-Makluqat (Cat.255), the so-called Sarre Qazwini, dating, Badiée suggests, to the first quarter of the 15th century.<sup>36</sup> shows a winged lion cub and a running ibex. The lion cub has a determined expression; its wing is ten-flanged and purple in contrast to the brown of the body. I do not know to what this illustration refer. Another scene from the same manuscript is entitled "The Lion" and shows a plain ground across which a lion is sprawled, seated on his haunches, tongue hanging out (Cat. 260). His mane is indicated by

black lines, he is brown with some shading and a white belly. In another illustration from the Aja'ib al-Makhlugat executed over a hundred years later the lion is shown on a green ground, lying head up, mouth open. He is a brown sandy colour with white under the chin, forelegs and belly. The mane is shown in darker brown strands as in the tail. The lion is shown with his forepaws crossed in a relaxed manner (Cat. 317). An undated illustration of Qazwini's manuscript shows a possibly female lion, lying in a crouching position; this one is a fawn-flesh colour with a white chin and underbelly (Cat. 375). It seems to be listening, ears pricked up. An illustration also from Qazwini shows a lion stretching. As there is no mane it may be female (Cat. 377). Its ears are small and flattened back, with tufts of hair at the tips. The tail has a brush. The animal is a fawn and flesh colour with a white underbelly. There is little one can say about these illustrations other than that they show lions in characteristic poses. Tone and shading vary, but they are unmistakably lions, portrayed accurately but in a rather uninteresting way. It is difficult to say whether the illustrators had seen lions or were working from descriptions. The accurate portrayal would suggest they had seen the animals.

Three miniatures on the same page illustrate the section of Qazwini's manuscript on Demons, Ghouls and Jinn. Animal-headed figures offer or plead to an enthroned king. The king is seated on a polygonal throne (Cat. 308). In the third miniature the creature has a lion-like head with fangs and a nose and flame eyebrows and quadruped front paws, while the back ones are in the form of birds' claws (Cat. 308). Such images seem to be influenced by astrological depictions. It is fawn with a white underbelly. Another illustration from the same chapter of this manuscript shows a man-like creature set in a green landscape through which flows a brown river (Cat. 307). He has a brownish body, spotted and wears a blue and gilt skirt. While he has human arms and legs his head is brown spotted with a lion-like nose and mouth. His



lion-like eyes have flame eyebrows and there are whorls on the top of his head and lower chin. Another manuscript of the same work shows the Sannaja, a mythical monster from Tibet which is represented as a sort of lion with a horse's tail. His head is bowed, he has two forlorn eyes and heavy jowls (Cat. 259). His right forepaw extends from the frame. Swirls in purple and brown decorate his body. Another miniature from the same manuscript shows the Island of al-Jasasa and a lion-like creature in brown and fawn with a red tongue, lacking a mane but having a bushy tail. Its mouth is open, surrounded by grin lines. Swirling lines seem to indicate the rippling muscles of the body (Cat. 256). A miniature painting from the Herbal of Discorides - the Kitab I Hasha'ish shows a page of quadrupeds including a lion-like animal with brown spots and splotches on an orange body. Grin lines surround its mouth. It has big orange eyes and pricked up ears. It is shown striding alone (Cat. 353).

The illustrations of the lion show an animal with the mane, body and tail associated with lions, and are therefore recognizable, but they do not serve to illuminate for the reader the qualities or acts associated with lions in the respective texts. Execution is often sketchy and careless, suggesting that the pictures of the beast were not very important. The representations often seem to be done in an archaic style changing little through the centuries. The texts themselves are a mixture of fact, fiction, received traditions and poetical images. They could be discussed as literature rather than science. Medieval writers, however, and the titles of the works indicate that they were intended to be regarded as zoological or cosmological works, placed in the field of science. They may have been intended as an aide memoire, rather than as a serious attempt to show the animal in full detail. This may explain the rather fanciful illustrations found in some manuscripts. Western writings of the same period dealing with animals share these traits and report many of the same traditions regarding the lion.

## CHAPTER TWO THE LION-BULL COMBAT

Images of the lion and bull in combat occur frequently as a decorative device in the Near East from ancient times, maintaining a continuity of iconography over fifty five centuries. The following pieces indicate the tenacious quality of this motif. A prehistoric Elamite seal impression from the fourth millennium BC, shows a lion holding a bull to the ground.<sup>1</sup> Various combinations of lions and stags grapple on a tile from a Sumerian gaming board found at Ur, of 3500 BC.<sup>2</sup> A wall sculpture from the Achaemenid palace at Persepolis from the 6th century BC, depicts a bull attempting to flee from a lion pursuing it and biting its rear flanks.<sup>3</sup> A Sasanian plate depicts a lion attacking a deer<sup>4</sup> and finally, a Mughal miniature places the lion and bull in a landscape setting, the bull contorted in its efforts to flee the lion biting through its backbone.<sup>5</sup> The persistence of this image over such a protracted period and through so many cultures would indicate a deeper meaning than mere decoration. Dots, stars and rosettes appearing on animals, it has been suggested, indicate an astronomical basis for the imagery,<sup>6</sup> as does the particular grouping of the lion and the bull.

The motif seems to mirror the passing of the seasons in astrological terms. The division of the solar year in ancient calendars was not indicated by the sun's conjunction with conspicuous stars, as these were not observable, instead it was marked by the stars' first appearance at daybreak or their last visibility at night. These events were called respectively their heliacal rising and settings. These divisions are found in the ancient farmers calendars such as the Mul APIN series. These are preserved texts dating from circa 1000 BC, based on a prototype possibly 1000 years earlier. The divisions continue to be found in Hellenistic Greek calendars and right up to the Hispano-Islamic calendar of 961 AD.<sup>7</sup>

The stars and constellations occurring in all the above calendars

are the Pleiades, those of the stars of Taurus which rise first above the horizon, Leo (the brilliant star Regulus), Scorpio, Aquarius and the Pegasus rectangle. At Persepolis in 4000 BC, (according to Hartner) the Pleiades (Tauri) and Regulus indicated the times at which the Sun passed through the equator from south to north (the spring equinox) and the highest position in the northern tropic (summer solstice). On February 10, the constellations of Leo and Taurus appeared in striking aspect. The Pleiades (leading star group of the Bull-Taurus) had their heliacal setting, to remain invisible until after forty days they rose again, marking the spring equinox. As the Pleiades set, Leo, standing 90° apart reached its zenith. Persepolis was the geographical location at which these events could be perfectly observed.<sup>8</sup> Hartner seems quite convinced of the precise dates, distant though they are!

Hartner considers the lion-bull combat motif to be a pictorial event recording the passing of the seasons. In astrological terms, the lion kills and destroys the bull, trying to escape below the horizon. After forty days the bull reappears and slowly gains in stature while the lion declines. Thus the lion-bull combat marked the most important of the four "intermediary" dates of the year and preceding the beginning of the agricultural year by thirty to forty days. Due to the procession of the equinoxes, the dates of the heliacal events gradually changed until by the time of the Achaemenid palaces the lion-bull combat took place on March 28, only a week later than the spring equinox. Hartner believes that by the Assyrian and Achaemenid periods the lion-bull combat had been re-interpreted as a symbol for the most important date in their calendars, the start of the new lunar-solar year which the Nawruz festival celebrates.<sup>9</sup>

Symbolism of pieces depicting the lion-bull combat motif often seem to be difficult and complex, possibly because they combine two traditions. The lion-bull motif is found on pieces from the Mediterranean world as well as the Middle East. A series of Phoenician

bowls seem to have some connection with the motif as found further to the East. These bowls were part of the tomb furniture in the Bernardini tomb in Praeneste, datable to the second half of the seventh century BC.<sup>10</sup> They are interesting in that they display some of the motifs later found on Sasanian and Islamic vessels, although predating these by many centuries. Hopkins has tried to account for the iconography of the bowls in a way which may have some relevance for the interpretation of later pieces. A medallion from the so-called 'serpent bowl' has as its central motif a lion, possibly with darts bristling from its nose, holding down a man crawling on his belly along the ground. In the surround a Horus bird flies above and a papyrus plant lies in front. Men fell trees, horses crop grass, bulls walk and at the bottom two lions hold a bull.<sup>11</sup> A mounted archer prepares to shoot one of the bulls from behind. Next to this scene, a man holding a sword grasps the front left paw of a lion standing on its hind legs. The outer sequence, read clockwise, indicates the passing of the seasons. Grapes are gathered indicating the end of the harvest season. Then the lions attack the bull and the hero kills the lion. Beyond, a cow, bull and calf walk in pastoral bliss. A man returns from the hunt. Hopkins suggests that the mounted archer attacking the lion would more naturally be found here. The importance of the temporarily victorious lion is shown by its presence in the central medallion. To him, the walking cattle represent early summer.<sup>12</sup>

Apparently the argument for interpreting the bowls as representing phases of the year is strengthened by the fact that in the later Greek zodiac the sign of the Scorpion followed the scales, signalling the autumn equinox. Before the winter solstice in which the new sun was born under the sign of the goat came Sagittarius the bowman, commonly represented in Greek art by the centaur. Capricorn the goat nourished the young sun until it emerged triumphant. It is striking that in these bowls, the lion is so often attacked by mounted bowmen and that this scene is often followed by a goat or a cow feeding

a calf, before the hero is victorious over the lion.<sup>13</sup>

A relief of Cybele (Goddess of the Earth) in the Hermitage depicts the lion-bull combat along the base. Datable to the third century BC, this apparently relates to the veneration of Cybele as the Great Mother of the Gods and the Sun in Leo and Taurus. Cybele and her consort Attis apparently symbolised the relationship between Mother Earth and her fruitfulness and were worshipped annually at the vernal equinox. The pine cone, one of the fruits of the Babylonian Tree of Life, is an attribute of Cybele.<sup>14</sup>

The use of the lion-bull combat as a symbol of power has been suggested with reference to the design on the boss of an Assyrian shield believed to have belonged to King Sargon II (721-705 BC).<sup>15</sup> It shows a lion, growling and with its tail lashing, leaping on the back of a reclining bull. Both bull and lion face towards the right. It has been argued that as this piece is so important, the design could not have been meaningless. It should be regarded as an image of regal power since the Assyrians regarded lions much like human enemies and wanted their triumphs over the wild beasts shown. Eventually the symbolism of the lion was transferred to the conqueror himself as an image of power.<sup>16</sup> (a number of Islamic images of the lion-bull combat seem to share this symbolism).

There is a lacuna of several centuries between the pieces so far discussed and the recurrence of the lion-bull combat on Sasanian metalwork and Islamic art. As the imagery remains fairly standard, one can only presume that the gap is due to lack of surviving pieces, or more likely the lack of published pieces, rather than to the disappearance of the motif. The re-emergence of ancient Iranian forms in Islamic art seems to be symbolic of the desire in Muslim countries, particularly Iran, to construct a past for itself. A harking back to the great civilization with which it allied itself in such works as Firdausi's Shahnama. Thus both the imagery of the Achaemenid palaces and that of Sasanian metalwork is relevant to our study. Baer cites

the Iranian tradition as the major formative influence in the development of Islamic harpies and sphinxes, which also appeared without any immediate antecedent.<sup>17</sup>

The whole subject of Sasanian silver vessels is fraught with difficulties as regards provenance and dating; however, the dishes continue many of the themes seen in earlier Near and Middle eastern art. They provide a link with later Islamic imagery, so they are worth approaching from the standpoint of iconography. Dating arguments will be footnoted where possible. A plate discovered in Komorovo in Perm depicts a lion standing in front of a stylized tree, straddling a bull (Cat. 86). The lion bites the inner side of the bull's neck and pins its hind legs down. The lion possesses a luxuriant curling mane, lashing tail and well-defined paws and leg muscles. Circles decorate the lion's ankles and a whirling hair rosette appears on its shoulders. Similar rosettes appear on the bull's front and rear flanks. Kantor dates the plate as later Sasanian or post-Sasanian<sup>18</sup> (i.e. Muslim). The whirling rosette is commonly acknowledged to be a sun symbol in part confirming the hypothesis that this scene has astrological significance.

A lion attacks a stag on a plate in the Hermitage Museum. Orbeli refers to this plate as representing the sun lion felling the ox of darkness, identifying it as Sasanian but giving no date.<sup>19</sup> Dimand suggests that it is post-Sasanian on the grounds that the stylization of the bodies and schematic rendering of the muscles differs from Sasanian art, being definitely Islamic in style<sup>20</sup> (Cat. 87). The lion and stag have been curved to fit the circular bowl. The lion, with a strongly-marked face and stylized curly mane, waves his tail over which curls a palmette front. The stag, equally strongly marked, is resting on a palmette under his belly. The lion pins down his prey with paws placed on the stag's neck and back. The placing of an animal group in the central circle is uncharacteristic of Sasanian art, as is the use of half-palmettes. There is a possible explanation for the

appearance of trees or vegetation in some of the lion-bull scenes. Apparently the ox or bull was considered to be a symbol for the moon, the source (through rain), of plant life and the tree of life.<sup>21</sup>

A silver- gilt rhyton, tentatively attributed to the fourth-century A.D. and given an Iranian provenance, depicts antelopes and a lion and a bull approaching a central tree (Cat. 96). The lion has a stippled mane and overall stippled body and a naturalistic face. He appears to be growling at the bull which is plunging towards the tree. The overall decoration would tend to support the early date. The tree may be a symbol of fertility and good life. The rhyton terminates in a two-horned head.<sup>22</sup>

In another context the apse mosaic from the diwan at Khirbat al-Mafjar datable before 743 AD, shows a tree with golden fruit and lush spreading branches, with deer grazing on one side and on the other a lion attacking a gazelle in the now familiar pose, paws grasping the gazelle's back while it bites through the backbone (Cat. 378, fig. 178). While this image may derive from genre painting or mosaics of Roman and Byzantine times, its placement within the palace in the raised apse of the bathhouse, which presumably bore the royal throne, gives it the connotation of power and royalty, according to Ettinghausen.<sup>23</sup> While not disputing this, I would also argue an astrological basis for the imagery in that we have the three symbols often associated with astrological imagery - the lion, gazelle in place of the bull, and tree, furthermore, the lion is actually attacking the gazelle. It is an appropriate scene for a palace and agricultural estate. The lion and bull motif also appears in the palace of Mshatta. In Triangle E, they flank an amphora from which both appear to drink peacefully, thus mirroring the 6th century Byzantine mosaic from the 'Animal Friendship' series of Antioch<sup>24</sup> (Cat. 380).

On a minor note, an image of the lion bull combat occurs in a 12-13th century Islamic ceramic piece. An unglazed bath scraper from Iran is similar in form to the shield (Cat. 61, fig. 50). Circular in

shape, it shows a lion which has leaped, with all fours, on the back of a bull. The creatures are less substantial and naturalistic than the animals on the shield, and the lion faces right while the bull faces left, yet there is a marked similarity in the way the motif is treated.

Gates seem to be a favourite place for carving lion-bull combats. Such a prominent position would argue for a well-understood and important symbolism. The Kharput Gate at Diyarbakr dated by inscription to 909 AD when it was reconstructed by al-Muqtadir, is carved with a lion-bull combat scene.<sup>25</sup> A frieze of five animals appear on the upper part of the niche while in the centre the bull and lion confront each other across a bird of prey (Cat. 383). The Mardin gate also bears an inscription referring to al-Muqtadir along with an emblem consisting of a lion and a bovine creature flanking an eight-pointed star<sup>26</sup>(Cat. 384).

While the emblem of the lion-bull combat was resurrected under Islamic rule, it may have lost its original astrological meaning and perhaps should be re-interpreted as a symbol of regal or secular power.<sup>27</sup> Tower XXX of Gabrieli's publication of Diyarbakr bears a building inscription referring to the Seljuq Malik Shah (dated 1088 AD), capped by a seated personage with confronted bulls kneeling on either side.<sup>28</sup> This would seem to indicate that the seated personage has replaced the more usual lion, indicting the same flexible iconography as found on the zodiac dishes of a World Ruler. There are several other reliefs depicting lion-bull combat scenes executed under Seljuq patronage in Anatolia. A lion-bull fight scene at Ulu Cami, Diyarbakr is carved in relief, showing the lion on the back of a running bull biting through its spine just behind the head. This relief is dated to 1178-80.<sup>29</sup> Another relief carving from Cizre in Diyarbakr shows a similar scene.<sup>30</sup> Öney suggests that the images symbolise the "...fight between evil forces or to represent the superiority of goodness over evil, of light over darkness of native over enemy."<sup>31</sup> Another lion-bull combat scene on a gate of Diyarbakr with a



fragmentary inscription dated to 1207-08 AD in the reign of the Artuquid Mahmud b. Muhammad, may be a message of power, concomitant with the desire of the ruler to demonstrate his power in perpetuity.<sup>32</sup> (Cat. 397)

A stone slab from Hamadan, northwest Iran shows a lion and zebu leaping at each other in the centre (Cat. 395, fig. 191). The zebu has a humped back and two horns. Within its body is a small quadruped, as there is also in the body of the lion. The lion seems to carry a hare, and the zebu, a stag. Three hounds or wolves run above. Below two human figures are flanked by a running hound or wolf, while the figure on the right leads an ass-like animal by a rope. The opposite side depicts a hunter on horseback, accompanied by a cheetah and greyhound. The hunter stabs a lion through the mouth. A second much smaller hunter on foot prepares to spear the lion through its belly. Two hounds attack the lion from above and below while an ibex looks on in the upper left corner, a similar animal may have occupied the upper right corner now chiselled off.

Another slab from Hamadan, inscribed with the name of the owner, a certain Hajji Hasan b. Ibrahim, and completed in 1303-4, according to the inscription, is now in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>33</sup> (Cat. 404, fig. 198). One side is carved with geometrical interlacing and a stylized plant motif, while at the front of the slab two lions walk side by side: behind them a stepped compartment encloses a hare looking back. On one side a lion attacks a stag from the rear: hidden in the vegetation above the lion is another hare. A similar stone relief, in the Louvre,<sup>34</sup> shows two confronted sphinxes on one side and a band of running animals. On the other side a lion confronts a horned quadruped amid vegetation with hares running underneath (Cat. 396, fig. 192). A stone slab from Hamadan, of the same type, now in the Staatliche Museen-Berlin, bears the lion-bull motif on both sides. The animals are shown with the lion attacking the bull from the rear and confronted with small quadrupeds. The slightly coarse execution points to a date

probably at the end of the 13th century, which indicates that Seljuq iconographical themes continued after the Mongol invasion<sup>35</sup> (Cat.401,

Baer suggests that these stone slabs originally came from northwest Iran, perhaps Hamadan, which- according to Arab geographers- had a tradition of stone carving. They might have come from castles in the vicinity. She discounts the notion that the slabs may have been tombstones or steles, citing the secular nature of the decoration and the fact that they must have been freestanding as there is carving on both sides. Dimand postulates that they might be end pieces of a balustrade while Baer suggests that they may have formed parts of staircases in secular buildings or palaces.<sup>36</sup> She dates them not earlier than the second half of the 12th century when Hamadan was the Seljuq capital until it was captured by Mongols in 1224.<sup>37</sup>

If these reliefs did indeed come from the summer residences of the Seljuq princes they may have portrayed hunts, but there is also an ancient tradition of the lion-bull combat on staircases in Iran going back to the Achaemenid palace at Persepolis. Qazwini when talking of the inhabitants of Hamadan makes some remarks that lead one to believe that the ancient astrological symbolism may still have been very much in evidence as late as the Seljuq period. He remarks that: "... the rising star of the city is the Bull which has its (night) house (domicile) in Venus", which is the 'star of happiness and musical entertainment'.<sup>38</sup> He also describes a festival called the haml-i bendan (carrying away of the dams), a spring festival at the time when 'the Sun enters Taurus' and the meltwaters wash away the snows of winter.<sup>39</sup> That is, when the lion enters the zodiac sign of Taurus. These statements can be seen as a harking back to the long tradition of the lion and bull in the astrology of the Near East, along with a possibly talismanic function. The lions of Hamadan were purportedly erected by Sulayman to protect the town against the harsh elements of winter, while similar sculptures guarded against floods and snakes.<sup>40</sup>

The lion-bull combat continued to appear in the decorative arts

as well as in monumental stone. A Persian metalwork bowl dated to 1305 AD, now in the Museum at Modena, shows a lion confronting a bull. The lion demonstrates the geometrical configuration typical of Islamic art, and the bull, with a clearly marked cross on the side of its body, harks back to a motif recognised as an attribute of the moon bull (Cat. 170). Images of the lion-bull confrontation appear in a repeat pattern on the 'Turanshah' bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum. This metal bowl was made at Fars in Western Iran and dates to 1351-1352. The use of the motif as a repeat pattern would argue for a decorative rather than cosmological function on this particular piece (Cat. 178, fig. 142). As the Sasanians originated in Fars, many centuries earlier,<sup>41</sup> it is interesting that this motif is found on this bowl also from Fars.

So far, the lion-bull combat motif has appeared in stone, mosaic, and metalwork. It is also found on textiles. An Islamic silk from Spain dated to the 12th century has a pair of rampant lions addorsed regardant, flanking a stylized tree while under the feet of each lion a small quadruped rests (Cat. 443, fig. 220a-c). Palmettes emanate from a central star device filling in the interstices between the medallions. Two bands of Kufic inscription proclaim 'Victory from God to Amir al-Muslimin 'Ali', identified as the Almohad ruler of Spain and North Africa from 1107-43. In this silk, although the pattern has to some extent become merely decorative, all the elements of traditional iconography are present. The inscription confers victory on the Amir and would tend to confirm the hypothesis that these elements were readily understood as symbols of royal power in the Muslim world.

There is some evidence that the conquering lion could still be read as a political message in the 12th century. An enamelled dish of the Artuquid Dawud b. Sukman b. Artuq of Hisn Kaifa, who ruled a principality between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, was made between 1114 and 1144. It shows the lion-deer motif in a medallion, along with other medallions where a stronger animal overcomes a weaker one. A large central scene depicts the ascension of Alexander the Great. This

seems to represent the apotheosis of the type of ruler with whom Dawud b. Sukman wished to be identified (Cat. 116, fig. 95).

The lion-bull combat theme ceases to appear on metalwork in Iran, or indeed apparently, anywhere else, at least as far as we can tell from surviving pieces, after about the mid-14th century. At this time there were changes in the ruling classes in western Iran. There seems, concomitantly, to have been a major change in style in metalwork. It is possible that with the coming of the Turkman rulers, Sasanian-influenced iconographic themes no longer appealed. This is, however, very vague, given the much earlier dates of Sasanian metalwork. Calligraphic decoration became more prominent and arabesques and floriated decoration seem to have largely replaced figural imagery. There was concomitantly, a change in technique as inlaying with wire replaced sheet metalworking. This may have influenced the range of decorative motifs that could be applied to metalwork. A similar change in technique and style is also found in Mamluk metalwork. The lion-bull combat does not reappear as a decorative motif until the Safavids come to power in Iran at the beginning of the 16th century.

Carpets of the 16th and 17th centuries seem to have adopted the lion-bull combat as a decorative motif. An animal carpet from Tabriz datable to the second half of the 16th century has medallions containing birds and inscriptions in the border. In the centre is a four-lobed medallion and two smaller ones with birds. In the lower part of the carpet lions stalk deer or ibex. Cheetahs wrestle with quadrupeds in the upper part, while lions and tigers stalk them (Cat. 15, fig. 13). An animal carpet from north west Persia datable to the late 16th or early 17th century, has on the left side, a garden with confronted ibexes and two confronted lions, then lions leaping on the backs of bulls, attacking the spine near the tails. Mystical birds perch on the four corners of the central medallion, while on the bottom, lions in the same pose leap on some bulls. Two confronted lions are placed above two confronted ibexes (Cat. 33, fig. 30). A silk

animal carpet from the middle or second half of the 16th century has floral borders containing birds, while the main ground consists of flowers and birds in trees. Lions leap on the backs of horned quadrupeds. There are also cheetahs attacking quadrupeds and strange Chinese- looking lions with flaming ears and eyebrows (Cat. 23, fig. 20). A carpet of the same period has trees and opposed small animals. Two confronted lions growl at ibex running away. Near the centre two lions roar and pursue two ibex, heads turned looking in fright at their pursuers (Cat. 22, fig. 19). A silk tree and animal carpet datable to the end of the 17th century bears lions with flame manes leaping on the backs of horned quadrupeds, biting their backs and necks. There are also light-and-dark-coloured small hyena-like quadrupeds and long dragon-like creatures as well as elongated birds with vicious beaks (Cat. 40, fig. 33).

There are many carpets decorated with the lion-bull combat motif amongst others datable to the same time. The presence of cheetahs, for instance, leaping on the backs of deer and ibex would tend to suggest that the motif has become less pure and more decorative. There also seems to be a Chinese influence in some of the lions.<sup>42</sup> By this time, the lion-bull combat theme seems to have lost its original meaning and become a purely decorative motif by the time it is found on Safavid carpets. The designs on the Safavid carpets of the 16th century are heavily influenced by 15th century bookcovers, and it is on these that one may find images of the lion-bull combat as a decorative theme. Earlier it does seem to have taken on the connotation of royal power, but this is a concept different from that of its former astrological role.

### CHAPTER THREE SECTION 1 MAN HUNTING THE LION

This section of the chapter on the hunt will discuss images of man hunting the lion as shown on metalwork, textiles and carpets. The history and significance of the hunt will be analysed with a view to elucidating its place and attendant rituals in medieval Islamic society. Finally the pieces themselves will be examined. Miniatures have been assigned a separate section as much textual evidence is available for analysis with regard to subjects painted.

The Middle East was inhabited by the short-maned Persian lion and the long-maned African lion for many centuries. Whilst the lion became extinct in Egypt at an early stage, it was found in medieval times in Syria and Iran and the last sightings took place as late as the 19th century in Iraq<sup>1</sup>. Lion hunting has a long history in the Middle East. As evidenced by the many surviving scenes of Assyrian lion hunts, the animals were extensively hunted in Assyria. Tiglathpileser I circa 1000 BC writes: "At the bidding of Urta, who loves me, I have slain 120 lions by my bold courage and by my strong attack, on foot, and 800 lions I have laid low from my chariot with javelins, I have brought down all (kinds of) beasts of the field and birds of the heavens that fly, among my hunting spoils".<sup>2</sup>

In reliefs Assurbanipal is portrayed hunting lions with swords, spears, bows and arrows. He reported killing vast numbers of lions. In close combat he used lassoes, clubs and daggers: "... they let a fierce lion of the plains out of his cage and on foot, with my spear shaft... but did not end its life. At the command of Nergal, king of the plain, who granted me strength (and) manliness, I stabbed him then with my iron girdle dagger and laid down its life".<sup>3</sup> The tradition of lion hunting continued throughout the centuries and we have recordings of lion hunts under the Greeks in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. In Syria, Alexander's general Lysimachus killed lions. Oppian the Syrian poet mentions "... wild beasts, roaring lionesses and swift leopards

and tigers of striped back stand(ing) forward to defend their children and fight with hunters ... joining issue with their spearmen face to face ... they shudder not at the advancing crowd of javelin throwers, not at the gleaming bronze and flashing iron, nor at the swift cast of shaft and shower of stone ..."<sup>4</sup> This passage is quite informative as it names the weapons used against wild animals - javelins and stones, and indicates that the hunters faced the animals on foot. The tradition of hunting was then a long- established royal practise. Weapons used included javelins, stones, clubs, lassoes and daggers. Hunters were conducted on foot, on horseback and from chariots.

Lion hunts took place in many cultures. The Romans imported lions from North Africa and Syria for use in the arenas. The first recorded display took place in 186 BC.<sup>5</sup> The Constantinian villa mosaics at Antioch depict two huntsmen on foot attacking a lion and a boar with a bow, arrow and spear, while two mounted hunters kill a bear, leopard and lion.<sup>6</sup> A similar range of animals are being killed in the Worcester hunt mosaic.<sup>7</sup> There are numerous mosaics throughout North Africa showing lion hunts, dating to the Roman period. The hunting mosaics at Antioch seem to illustrate the capture of lions for the arena, or the killing for sport, presented in a lively and naturalistic manner. This is in contrast to the representations on the Sasanian plates which are ritualised, formal images of kings defeating lions.

Images on Sasanian plates datable between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D., would indicate that the Sasanians continued the practise of hunting lions. On a silver gilt plate from Sari in northern Iran, datable to the fourth century, the hunter is shown mounted, head in profile turned to the right, looking backwards while drawing his bow to shoot at the lion, a pose known as the Parthian shot.<sup>8</sup> (fig. 234) On the right a lion, its back arched away from the hunter, climbs up the side of the plate. The hunter is aiming the arrow at the back of its neck, and in fact, the arrow touches the lion's curling mane. The lion has marked facial features, a detailed ruff, muscles and ribs well

delineated, and a taut, stippled body. Beneath the rider, another lion lies sprawled along the ground. The hunter is elaborately dressed. In pose and costume he appears to be a royal figure, as indicated by the right profile, tied beard, row of curls above the diadem and the sword worn at his waist. The shape of the crown is identified by Harper as being related to that worn by Shapur indicating that the figure is a prince rather than a king.<sup>9</sup>

Harper identifies several different types of composition on Sasanian hunting plates - labelling the Sari plate as belonging to group one. This group is further subdivided into three types of composition - the first type consisting of a hunter killing a single animal, the second type (of which the Sari plate is an example) showing a vertical-horizontal relationship of hunter, prey and horse, with a dead animal lying horizontally along the bottom, with elements overlapping - whilst the third type shows a hunter pursuing a single animal, the composition arranged in oblique lines, as found on the Burnes plate. This plate is known only through 19th-century drawings. The hunter and single lion are in a nearly vertical position with the hunter in right profile however the lion faces towards the horse, the horse's hooves cutting into the lion's body. The spear forms a strong oblique line.

Harper proposes a second group of Sasanian plates showing hunting scenes, the hunters wearing crowns like those found on Sasanian coins and dynastic monuments. Eight plates are placed in this category. A silver-gilt plate shows Hormizd hunting lions with a bow and arrow, held in the Parthian shot pose. (fig. 235) He aims at a lion facing him. The lion is standing with its front paws upraised, rearing at an oblique angle. It has a heavy ruff, a curling, rather stylised mane and hairs along the edges of its body, its ribs appear only as stylised markings. Another lion lies dead under the hooves of the galloping horse, an arrow protruding from its spine. There are elements of a landscape setting marked out on the plate. This plate is datable to



the fifth century.<sup>10</sup> On a plate now in Berlin the king in right profile sits astride a galloping horse, aims his spear at a boar whilst another boar rears up below the horse. At the bottom of the composition lies a dead lion, head resting on outstretched paws. A winged cherub floats at the top right of the scene. The hunter is elaborately garbed, as is the horse, both wear ball and crescent crowns. This plate originally came from Nor Baiazet near Erivan in Armenia<sup>11</sup>. We see on these plates a continuation of the themes present in the first group - hunters mounted on rearing horses, aiming at rearing animals, a dead animal of the same species lying on the ground. New elements are introduced, however: the plates bear animals of several species dead and alive, horse and rider face their prey, and the composition is crowded.

In the third group, Harper places plates bearing scenes of crowned figures hunting, with no evidence of Iranian provenance, but having an iconographic relationship to plates with identifiable Sasanian kings. The British Museum plate falls into this category. A king, mounted, wearing a crescent and globe crown, is killing a lion which is rearing against the front legs of his horse. (fig. 235) The lion spurts blood as it is being beheaded. A second lion rears up at the head of the horse. Both animals have curling manes, delineated muscles and stippled bodies and both are cut off by the rim of the bowl. The upper lion, in spite of having a mane, seems to be female as rows of nipples are visible on its body. The king has been identified incorrectly by other scholars as Bahram V (Gur). Harper suggests that rather than recording one of Bahram's heroic deeds, this plate merely shows a variation on the standard hunting scene.<sup>12</sup> The king holds a very small lion cub in his left hand apparently using this to draw out the adults. The use of very young animals to draw out mature animals was apparently common practice in Roman hunts, and a very similar scene is found on one of the mosaic pavements in a villa in Antioch. Harper states that this scene is more likely to represent a standard hunting scene than a particular heroic feat.<sup>13</sup> Harper discusses over twenty

plates bearing hunting scenes with royal figures hunting lions, tigers, boars, bulls, rams, and other animals, shown in single species, pairs, single animals, and mixed groups<sup>14</sup>. Some of this imagery continues on plates of later date, but clearly related to Sasanian examples. For instance, on a plate dating from the ninth or tenth century, Bahram Gur, mounted on a horse, is shown spearing a lion through its mouth. The lion grips the face of the horse, one paw at the top and the other paw at the bottom. The lion has sunburst rosettes on its shoulders. Another lion is lying down, half twisted round. Although this plate is Islamic in date, it is very much within the traditions of Sasanian iconography.<sup>15</sup>

Islam took over lands populated by lions and the tradition of lion killing as a royal sport and prerogative continued. The Muslims collected the animals in big parks and hunted them. Animals were imported into Egypt. In 870 AD Ibn Tulun built a palace on the hill of Yeshkur between Fustat and the Mukattam hills which included a menagerie. His son enlarged the palace and added an aviary. He is reported as having a tame lion from his menagerie to guard him as he slept.<sup>16</sup>

Usamah ibn Murshidh, a Syrian nobleman of the 12th century describes various encounters with lions, boasting that:

I have battled against beasts of prey on occasions so numerous that I cannot count them all, and I have killed of them quite a number, single handed, in addition to those which I have killed conjointly with others. Indeed I have had more experience with lions and knowledge about fighting them than any other person. I know, for instance, that the lion, like all other animals, fears man and flees from him. It is in a state of inattentiveness and stupidity except when it is wounded, then it becomes the real lion it is. That is the time in which it is to be feared. Whenever a lion goes out of a forest or thicket in order to assault horsemen, it is sure to return to the same thicket from which it had gone - even though fires be set in its way. Having discovered that myself, through experience, I never failed to wait for it on its return, whenever it went out to attack our horsemen, provided it was not wounded. And as it would

come back. I would let it alone until it passed me, and then I would pierce it with the lance and kill it.<sup>17</sup>

Later he describes a hunt with Malik al-Umara Atabek Zanki. Although the lion is not specifically mentioned it is likely that it was hunted in the same way. "I have also seen the atabek take part in chasing wild beasts on various occasions. As soon as the hunting party had drawn up in circular formation, with the beasts within, then nobody could get inside of the circle. And the moment a beast came out they would shoot their arrows at it".<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, although he talks at length about encounters with lions, he does not describe a lion hunt in detail.

We have eye witness accounts of hunts in Egypt and Persia. According to Maqrizi and other authorities, there were several methods of hunting lions. A man riding a horse specifically trained for the purpose would ride towards the lions, which would rush to chase the horse. The horse would run faster than the lions, thereby tiring them out. The rider would then turn the horse to face the animals and as they approached he would shoot a lion in the foot with an arrow. The lion would continue to advance slowly until finally the horseman finished it off.<sup>19</sup>

Apparently some lions were kept in cages at the palaces and the horses were fed in front of these cages to accustom them to the lions. An alternative practice was to place a dummy lion made of wood covered with hide and topped by a real lion's head, near the stables so that the horses would get used to the sight and the smell of a lion. The wooden lion could be manipulated by a hidden man, and the horses were trained to approach the moving lion. A man approaching a real lion on foot would carry a spear and double edged sword in addition to some daggers in his belt. He would plunge the spear into the lion's throat and try to slice its legs with the sword, aiming especially at the hind legs. Having done this he would jump backwards and if the lion made a

second attack, he would aim at the lion's eyes to put it off its guard whilst he aimed at the mouth, or the dagger would be plunged into the lion's body. If there were two men on foot hunting they acted in tandem, one filling the role of decoy while the other followed just behind to one side of the lion ready to aim at the rear quarters. The lion would turn to attack, at which point the decoy would try to hamstring the animal, giving his partner the chance to finish off the beast by plunging a sword into its body. The hunter always aimed at the left side of the body closest to the heart. If there were several hunters they would wait until the lion was asleep in the afternoon, then advance to form a circle around the lion. At a signal they would all aim their spears at the lion and at another signal throw them. Sometimes hunters would ambush the lion at his den, luring it out and then throwing stones at it. The hunter would offer his left arm, well baffled in cloth, to the lion which would bite at it, thus exposing his body to the sword.

The Hadith, in the Sahih of al-Bukhari include 'the Book of Slaughtering and Hunting', which is divided into 38 chapters dealing with hunting methods, lawful animals, and so on. He states (Chap. 29 No.3438) that "Allah's Apostle forbade the eating of the meat of beasts having fangs". Lions, tigers and other fanged animals could not have been caught to provide food, but must have been hunted as sport.<sup>20</sup>

Among the writers of the Middle Ages, the ability to track footprints on the ground, and follow an animal by smell and eye, were highly regarded qualities, considered to be part of the heritage of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Often big game hunting would be undertaken by large tribal groups, but the historians preferred to record the exploits of caliphs, princes, sultans and other noblemen. It is, however, very difficult to find any contemporary accounts of Muslims hunting lions in English translation. One fares better with reports written by European travellers. These accounts indicate a continuity of tradition in hunting practices.

Sir John Chardin, the son of a wealthy French jeweller went to Persia to make money selling jewels. He lived in Isfahan for 18 months between 1666 - 1667 and for a period of four years between 1672 - 1677. He learnt Persian and took great pains to record what he saw and heard accurately. He provides the most reliable and accurate information of all the European travellers.<sup>21</sup> He describes hunts which took place in Persia, stating that the Persians used lions, leopards, tigers and panthers in hunting matches:

They hunt no Man. A Horseman carries one of them behind him, wood-winkt with a Cloth-Roll, and tied with a chain, and stands in the way of the Chased Beast, as close as it maybe; when the Horseman sees any coming, he pulls off the Beast's Hood, and turns his Head towards the Prey; if he sees it, he gives a Shriek, leaps down, falls on the Beast; and pulls it down, if he misses it, he is commonly discouraged, and stops; the Master goes to him, comforts him, makes Much of him, and tells him it is not his Fault ...<sup>22</sup>

Sir John describes royal hunts thus:

In a Royal Hunting-match and in all great Hunting Bouts they lay a Net round a little Valley, or a Plain, and chase Beasts from fifteen to twenty leagues distance, round about the Country, which some thousands of Country People range over when there is a great Number of Beasts in the Net, and they are all hedg'd in by Troups of Horse-men, the king comes in with his Company, then every one falls on what's next to him ... and they make a horrid slaughter of them, commonly amounting to the Number of about eight hundred Beasts. They say, that in some of those Hunting-Matches they have kill'd to the Number of Fourteen thousand Beasts. In the common Hunting Bouts, when a Beast is taken, they stay till the best Man of the Company comes, who shoots an Arrow at him, then every Man falls in.<sup>23</sup>

Thomas Herbert, writing of his travels in Persia in 1627-29 says of the nobles at Shiraz:

"This Duke here and in other seraglios (harams, the Persians call them) has above three hundred concubines, no surer way in these pagan countries to distinguish one man's greatness from another than by exceeding in that sort of voluptuousness: albeit he hunts elsewhere, other sports serving but as a provocation. Nor do they refrain from more

manly excesses, as chasing the lion, hunting the tiger, dislodging the boar, unkennelling the jackal, and the like at which sports he first raises whole countries, not less than twenty thousand men serving to rouse that kind of savage game; for, when the whole herd are embattled upon some mountain, they impale it with a huge toil of wire and cords supporting with stakes, and so either dart them from without the rail or venture in, and (by drawing a cross-line) single what beast they please to combat with sword and lance, nor want they hounds trained for that generous sport: and having killed some, suffer the rest to escape for further pastime."<sup>24</sup>

He says of the Persian Army:

"In peace they are not always idle, solacing their active bodies in sundry sorts of warlike exercises. They dance not ... but love to hunt and chase the stag, the antelope, gazelle, tiger, boar, goat, hare, fox, jackal, wolf and the like: in which pastimes they express singular courage and dexterity. They also know well how to use the bow, dart, scimitar, gun, and javelin ... They have greyhounds large and not unlike the Irish, of courage to encounter a lion; have spaniels also, but not so good as their hawks may challenge. Eyries they have of eagles, lanners, goshawks, and hobbies ... they fly commonly at hares, jackals, partridges, pheasant, heron, pelican ..."<sup>25</sup>

Scenes of man hunting the lion appear on metalware, ceramics, ivories, stucco, textiles and in one instance as part of palace decoration. The largest corpus is on miniature painting, which will be discussed separately. The subject of man hunting the lion occurs less frequently than one might think on Islamic metalwork. The catalogue lists only eight examples. (Cat. 156, fig. 127, cat. 157, fig. 128, cat. 174, fig. 138, cat. 177, fig. 141a-c, cat. 178, fig. 142, cat. 184, and cat. 192, fig. 152) Of these, two pieces are candlesticks while three are bowls and one is a peacock. The hunters are mounted in all examples and the lion is being killed by means traditionally associated with the hunt—swords and spears. The majority of the vessels are from Iran, with the exception of two likely to come from the Sultanate of Rum or Armenia. The dates of the pieces range from the 13th to the

19th century. Iconographic elements indicate that they represent pleasures and pastimes of the court.

A candlestick tentatively ascribed to the Sultanate of Rum, possibly from 13th-century Armenia is made of bronze with a silver inlay. (Cat. 156, fig. 127) The figurative scenes show musicians, drinkers and dancers and a buffoon. On the shoulder birds are enclosed on four roundels by lions, wolves, quadrupeds and human faced lions. On the sides are four hunting scenes framed by lobed medallions alternating with single seated figures, drinking wine and playing musical instruments. Starting from the left the first scene on the tubular shaft is of a horseman galloping, standing in the stirrups as he launches an arrow at a rampant feline with a very long tail. In the second scene a horseman at full gallop raises his right hand, a hawk or kestrel is perched on his left hand. In the third scene, a horseman bends down to bring his sword down on a lion. In scene four a horseman holds a dagger in his right hand and a buckler in his left, he stands in his stirrups ready to strike a dragon. The dragon has a long snout, the head and forelegs of a wolf and a long tail. Between the large lobed rosettes enclosing the horsemen are smaller quatrefoils arranged in pairs, each enclosing a seated or standing figure, these seem to be musicians and drinkers.

Another candlestick, also possibly from the Sultanate of Rum or Armenia and of the same century bears similar decoration: scenes of court life, hunting, and a mounted rider killing a dragon, however, does not show a lion being killed. Made of leaded bronze, it is decorated with engraved silver. (Cat. 157, fig. 128) On the sides four polylobed medallions enclose seated figures, some seated on raised thrones, holding goblets. The tubular shaft bears an epigraphic frieze. Figurative scenes ornament the shoulders of the bowl. The first lobed medallion encloses a rider spearing a dragon. The second shows a hunter hawking, the hawk resting on his gauntleted arm. In the third a rider is galloping. The panels between the lobed medallions show

court scenes. Animated scrollwork in two borders contains animal heads among which can be distinguished salukis, mules and birds. Roundels breaking the upper scrolling border into three sections enclose a double-headed eagle, two rampant winged lions and two unicorns. In the central area are hunting scenes in lobed medallions consisting of a rider spearing a dragon, a rider galloping with his arm extended for a hawk, the bird in profile in front of the horse. A horseman standing in his stirrups is ready to ward a feline off. Melikian-Chirvani identifies this animal as a lion. Facing the lion under the belly of the horse is a dog. This is pictorial convention for showing the lion next to the horse<sup>26</sup>. A frieze with running animals includes a lion chasing a bird-headed quadruped and a unicorn looking back. A nondescript animal chases two hares and a lion or cheetah looks back while a griffin chases a human headed lioness. The inscription on the base reads: "Lasting might, A; immune life/godliness, auspicious fate, A; las(t)ing might imm(une) life, (a)uspicious fate A."

Melikian-Chirvani attributes both candlesticks to the Sultanate of Rum or Armenia, rather than Iran, on several grounds. Whilst the composition on the tubular shaft of 156 could be Iranian, as suggested by stylistic motifs such as the stalks of vegetation separating figures to form horizontal scenes as seen in 14th-century Iranian painting, the details do not suggest Iran as a provenance. The triangular shape of the heads of the figures is very different from the Iranian moon-faces which appear in manuscripts and on pottery<sup>27</sup>. Details of the costumes are also apparently not Iranian in type. The details of the four hunting scenes on the sides of the candlestick are apparently closely related to Mesopotamian designs<sup>28</sup>. The second candlestick (Cat. 157), contains court scenes identified with royal outdoor pastimes as found in the Shahnama i.e. riding, hunting and slaying monstrous animals<sup>29</sup>. The roundels breaking the upper border into three sections, however, contains animals not found in Iranian pieces. The animals shown are a double-headed eagle, two rampant winged lions



and two unicorns. The double-headed eagle was apparently common a dynastic emblem in the Seljuq Sultanate of Rum and Ayyubid possessions in Syria<sup>30</sup>. Between the hunting medallions are found scenes described by Melikian-Chirvani as being reminiscent of the Baptistere de Saint-Louis and inspired from contemporary Persian or Arab miniature painting<sup>31</sup>. He states that the inscriptions could link the objects equally well with Iran and mid-13th century Syria or Mesopotamia.

The Nuhad es Said Collection contains a candlestick very similar to the two described above. The bronze candlestick inlaid with gold and silver comes from Siirt in Kurdistan/Armenia and is datable to the mid-13th century. The body of the candle has three large roundels, each showing horsemen hunting. Bands of confronted animals link the roundels. Smaller roundels below show five seated drinkers and musicians and a single standing figure. One horseman is shown hawking, another fights a lion, while the third has a cheetah sitting behind him on the horse as he spears a serpent like reptile with a large head. There are four inscriptions. On the candleholder "Lasting glory, prosperity and peace". On the neck, 'peace' and on the shoulders: "Lasting glory, prosperity, wealth, honour, happiness ..., peace, honour, ease, mercy and victory over enemies". On the foot, "Lasting glory, prosperity, wealth, happiness, peace, honour ... and perpetuity for ever". (Cat. 158, fig. 129)

Rice attributes this candlestick to Azerbaijan in the Il-Khanid period as does Esin Atil, while Stern suggests Georgia and Melikian-Chirvani suggests that Rice is incorrect as the heterogeneous nature of the decoration is not paralleled in the Iranian monuments of the period, but is in Anatolia, and all the surviving candlesticks in the Middle East were in Anatolian collections. Soucek suggests that the Georgian links came through marriage alliances between the Seljuqs and Georgians in the 13th century.<sup>32</sup> Allan points out that depictions of armed horsemen hunting, not fighting with lances is part of the Western Islamic rather than the Eastern Islamic tradition and that the horseman

spearing a dragon suggests a relationship with St George. Some figures suggest that they stand for signs of the zodiac and the very stylized scene of the horseman fighting the lion, with the lion rearing up as it is killed with a sword across its shoulders may also be connected with astrology as hexagons and discs in the scene suggest sun symbols.<sup>33</sup> According to al-Magrizi, candlesticks were presented as wedding gifts.<sup>34</sup> All three candlesticks would seem therefore, to be from the same region and a similar date. Baer attributes a similarly shaped candlestick to Azerbaijan or South-East Anatolia and dates it to the late 13th or early 14th century <sup>35</sup>. She says of this group that "Three basic variations of this bell-shaped group may be distinguished. The first is represented by a series of cast and hollow candlestick about 20-24cm high, with characteristically flat, upward sloping shoulders and accentuated concave flanks. They date to the second half of the 13th and early 14th centuries, presumably originate in Azerbaijan, and present decorative schemes which set them apart from other contemporary examples."<sup>36</sup> A carved stucco from Konya in Anatolia would seem to come from the same iconographic tradition as the candlesticks. It is a fragment of a frieze datable to the 13th century which shows men on horseback respectively killing a dragon with a sword and a lion which has leapt on the back of a horse (Cat. 399, fig. 194).

What does the presence of a man killing a dragon signify? Why does it occur on all the examples of candlesticks discussed here, all from the same region and all displaying remarkably similar imagery? Why does the dragon appear on a candlestick which also bears lions? The exploits of Bahram Gur have significance to Sasanian Iran and two other closely connected areas, namely Armenia where he is known as Prince Vahagn and Georgia, where he is called King Vakhtharg. The divine hero of an ancient Iranian cult is Verethragna who resides in the heavens. He is associated with Mithra the god of the sun and light. Vahagn is described as having hair of fire, a beard of flames, two suns for eyes and breath that suffused the earth and sea with

light. According to Phyllis Ackerman, Vahagn, the Armenian Bahram Gur is Verethragna on earth. He comes to earth in several forms, as a beautiful youth, clear-eyed, thin heeled, or as a man possessing a richly inlaid golden sword, or as a wind, or bull, horse, camel, boar, raven, or buck.<sup>37</sup>

In the Shahnamah Bahram is described as the ... Lustre of the World, of sun-like face, commanding height and royal grace, tall as a cypress with a reed-like waist, who carries a golden sword, and rides as wind-footed steed, is stormy of temperament, powerful as a bull, and dashes ahead ardently like a steed; as inexhaustible as a camel in the hunt and as indefatigable in passion ... He is as ferocious and destructive as the boar, as swift and rapid as a bird, and as valiant and ruthless in battle as a buck. Even as Vahaga fought the Vishap and Verethragna conquered Verethragna, so Bahram also slew dragons and other horrid beasts.<sup>38</sup>

When Bahram Gur became Verethragna, the angel driving away evil was metamorphosed into the ruler seeking justice. The dragon slayer may be included as a reference to the bravery of the hunter as well as the triumph of good over evil.

A bowl from Fars in Western Iran dated 1351-52 has the broad curving base and convex sides common in the 14th century. (Cat. 178, fig. 142) The decoration consists of six episodes from the Shahnama arranged in two cycles of three each, marked by the last figures in each scene facing in opposite directions. The events shown are an investiture scene, Faridun capturing Zahhak, Zal being taken to Manuchehr by Sam, a polo game and Bahram Gur riding. In scene three a horseman turns sideways to fell a lion leaping, which he grips by the mane. As Firdausi does not mention Faridun hunting, Melikian-Chirvani warns: "The image is so apt to illustrate any hunt that caution is required and definite identification is hardly possible".<sup>39</sup> There is a close connection in the figurative style with some of the Shahnama manuscripts executed in the second quarter of the 14th century. Another bowl from Fars dating to the early 15th century is decorated by a unique frieze framed by fillets inlaid with silver, divided into eight

sections by roundels. (Cat. 184) In each of the four figurative scenes, two riders are shown framed by stylized plants. In the first one, the riders carry polo mallets, while in the second they spear a running animal, possibly a lion. In the third one are more polo players, while in the fourth a fight is taking place. The inscription is typical of the Timurid period.

A footed bowl from western Iran dated between 1630-1650 contains six hunting scenes surmounted by epigraphic friezes. (Cat. 189, fig. 149). Hunters chase and kill ibexes, deer or onagers and antelopes, using swords, lassoes, arrows and hunting dogs. In one scene a hunter galloping on horseback brings his sword down on a leaping lioness, while the male lion leaps at him. A second rider, holding a spear with both hands, gallops to meet him. In another scene a rider, dagger raised in his left hand, prepares to stab a feline that has leapt up onto the back of his horse. With his right hand he grasps the head of the feline. A passing lioness watches the events. The hunters are also shown catching geese. All three bowls are from Western Iran. The one ceramic example seems to fit into the same category as it is decorated with a hunting scene, datable from the 13th century and comes from Iran (Cat.69, fig. 58).

It is evident that animals played a large part in the decoration of metalwork in Iran from an early time and continued to do so over several centuries. However in Mamluk Syria and Egypt from the 14th century epigraphy on the whole, replaced animal designs as a major decorative motif, although animals continued to be used in narrow bands and interstices between lettering. In Egypt, the rise of epigraphy as the major element in decoration seems to coincide with diminishing quality and a decline in imperial patronage. From the middle of the 14th century until the mid-15th century there are no objects of any significance bearing artists names. Apparently Sultan Qaitbay (1468-96) was an imperial patron and brasses inlaid with silver and gold were produced for the imperial court. They were usually inscribed with

honorific and benedictory phrases and bore epigraphic blazons<sup>40</sup>. We do not know with any precision why there was such a change of style in Egypt and Syria yet animals still played a large part in the decorative repertoire in Iran. It is possible that Iran harked back to the Sasanian past and maintained a decorative tradition in keeping with the Sasanian tradition.

Two ivory pieces show lions being killed by men. A rectangular casket of wood faced with ivory is dated to 1026 AD and provenanced to Cuenca in Spain. The front panel of the box is decorated with three registers of animals amid foliate decoration: winged griffins, winged lions and lions biting through the necks of bulls. At the centre of the bottom register a man on horseback is in the process of killing a lion with a sword. The lion has reared up at his horse, the man faces backwards, holding a shield against the lion in one hand and an upraised sword in the other. In other scenes, men are loosing arrows at animals which may be lions. (Cat. 391, fig. 187). The second piece is a plaque from Sicily, datable to the 12th century. The upper register of decoration shows a man spearing a lion through its breast. The lion roars up at the man, holding the man's bended leg with his right paw. The lower register shows a harvester carrying a sack. (Cat. 392, fig. 188).

Both pieces are fairly early in date and both come from the western reaches of the Islamic world. Ivories survive in substantial quantities from this area and are of very fine quality. They are mainly in the form of pyxides with a hemispherical lid or rectangular lidded containers. The earliest pieces bear vegetal designs while later pieces have more complex interweaving of vegetal, geometric and animal motifs. The themes often have royal connotations, for instance, lions seated underneath a throne or lions attacking a bull. Islamic or Byzantine textiles, themselves using Sasanian themes, may have served as models<sup>41</sup> An inscription on an ivory pyxis from the Madinat al-Zahra circa 970 bears verses which indicate both the use to which these

objects were put and the high regard in which they were held:

The sight I offer is of the fairest, the firm  
breast of a delicate maiden. Beauty has  
invested me with splendid raiment that makes a  
display of jewels. I am a receptacle for musk,  
camphor, and ambergris<sup>42</sup>.

Byzantine textiles seem to have been a source for decorative motifs both on Islamic ivories and Islamic textiles. A number of Byzantine silks show hunting scenes or display the so-called 'lion-strangler' motif. An eighth-century Byzantine textile has a pair of crowned figures mounted on winged horses, galloping towards one another. Between them grows a stylized tree, a branch on either side encircling an eagle like a medallion. The scene is symmetrically duplicated. The king holds a lion cub snatched from a lioness leaping beneath the hooves of the horses, in one hand while holding a branch of the central tree in the other hand. The headdress and garments are similar to a silk reputed to come from Rayy. The horses are very stylized. Small felines prowl and prey upon deer in the lower half of the medallions. Small quadrupeds in roundels decorate the borders, and in one of the adjacent roundels, a horseman is visible while in another a pair of eagles stand upon small deer.<sup>43</sup> This silk was found at Trier. It was attributed to Persia in the belief that it depicted one of the exploits of Bahram Gur snatching a whelp from a lioness. Similar scenes have however, been found in the mosaic of the Worcester Hunt dated to circa 564 AD.<sup>44</sup>

It has been suggested that this silk represents the theme of royal power, through both the action of the king and the animal combat motifs.<sup>45</sup> Ettinghausen in "The Conquering Lion, the Life-Cycle of a Symbol" offers another interpretation: "Since the shown act of defiance is coupled with the curious act of touching a tree in which an eagle with outstretched wings is placed, while underneath lions are twice seen attacking a stag or gazelle, we have here rather the symbolic rendition of the triumphant hero whose apotheosis is indicated by his

winged mount and his association with the king of birds." <sup>46</sup> Another Byzantine silk displaying the 'lion-strangler' motif shows the lion-strangler in a frontal position, holding a lion by the neck in each hand, while his feet rest on two smaller lions lying upside down gripping his feet with their paws. The larger rampant lions are shown in profile with exaggerated eyes and manes drawn in bold strokes, each resting a forepaw on the arms of the central figure.<sup>47</sup>

A cloth datable from between the eighth and tenth centuries shows a man in a frontal position, arms out-stretched and the lions standing rampant, tails upright and one forepaw raised. The figure is dressed in a long robe decorated with geometrical motifs, the lions are stylized, their bodies decorated with spots. As we can see there were Byzantine precedents of around the same period for the lion-strangler motif to appear on textiles.<sup>48</sup> Two cloths which in iconography seem to follow Byzantine precedents are datable respectively to the 10-11th centuries and the 12th century. The first piece from Iran (Cat. 426) shows a 'lion-strangler' in a frontal position choking a rampant lion in each hand. The scene is framed in a roundel. The second piece is from Almeria in Spain. A central figure grasps two rather dog-like creatures, possibly lions, one in each hand. They are seated, looking up. Quadrupeds are underfoot. The design is enclosed in a roundel. (Cat. 436, fig. 216) Almeria was a leading centre for the production of textiles having apparently "...no fewer than eight hundred looms for the weaving of silk garments and precious cloaks, a thousand for splendid brocades and the same number for various other types of textiles, some of which showed 'patterns of circles'<sup>49</sup>. Murcia, Malaga, Granada, Baeza and Seville were also textile production centres<sup>50</sup>.

The motif of mounted horsemen spearing lions seems to have appealed to Muslim taste in various parts of the Islamic world. Again it seems to be based on Byzantine pieces. An Iranian silk, possibly of Sasanian origin, shows a ceremonial hunt.<sup>51</sup> The king mounted on a horse is spearing a lion flanking a cypress tree. Below this the 'heir

designate', on foot, beheads a goat. A Byzantine silk of the eighth century shows two emperors on horseback spearing lions, separated by a conventionalised tree. Small hounds run beneath the lions.<sup>52</sup> The emperors are both elaborately garbed, the lions bodies are ornamented. A textile from Egypt, which has been considered as Islamic, is datable to the sixth or seventh century and shows a pair of mounted horsemen spearing lions. (Cat. 416) Other silks from Egypt which may be Islamic, or may have influenced Islamic silks, are datable from between the sixth and eighth centuries and come from Alexandria. One cloth shows a pair of horsemen spearing lions, with hounds running below.<sup>53</sup> Another silk bears a repeat pattern of riders mounted on confronted prancing horses, spearing lions. There are many similar examples.<sup>54</sup>

A number of textiles survive from the mid-16th century to the 17th century. They seem to share elements of iconography and style in common with miniature painting. A piece from Kashan datable to the mid-16th century is decorated with a hunting scene executed very much in the style of a miniature painting. Sandy coloured mountains are sprinkled with clumps of flowers. Men on horseback and foot hold birds and wave swords. In the lower left a horseman is looking back and releasing an arrow at a snarling white lion-like creature (Cat. 448, fig. 223). Another piece also from Iran datable to the late 16th century also shows a hunting scene. (Cat. 449, fig. 224) The scene has fantastical animals. Purple lions grapple with green hoofed animals. A man on foot grapples with a purple tiger and a man on horseback faces a lion. Another velvet from the same period shows a man on horseback grasping the lion by the back of the ruff and mane (Cat. 450, fig. 225) There are other similar examples. We know that there was a flourishing textile industry in Iran under the Safavids and it is evident that miniature paintings provided the inspiration for many of the motifs found on velvets of this period.

Interestingly a palace in Nayin, Iran has recently been discovered to have coloured stucco decorations which include a hunt



scene. There are men on horseback and foot hunting a variety of animals including ibex, deer, other small quadrupeds and a lion, against a floral background. Two men on horses approach a lion in the lower right corner. The leading man is aiming a bow and arrow at the roaring, prowling lion, while the man in the rear points a spear. Foxes, rabbits and other small animals frisk around. This stucco is dated to 1524-1576, the reign of Shah Tahmasp.<sup>55</sup> The decoration seems much of a piece with themes of miniature paintings and textiles of around the same time.

Persian court carpets of the 16th century are magnificent. A number of these carpets are decorated with hunting scenes. The four examples discussed here are the most famous of the hunting carpets. They all date from the 16th century and all come from northwest Persia. The 16th century seems to have been the golden age of carpet weaving in Persia. Subtlety of design was made possible by increased density of knotting and a wide range of shades, leading to the possibility of creating miniature-like scenes on carpets, with designs produced through a collaboration of court painters and weavers.<sup>56</sup>

The earliest of the four carpets seems to be the hunting carpet now in Milan. A cartouche in the centre gives the name of the maker: Ghiyath ad-Din Jami, while it is dated either 1522-23 AD, or 1542-43 AD depending on the epigraphic interpretation of the inscription. Dimand argues for the earlier date on stylistic grounds.<sup>57</sup> (Cat. 7, fig. 6) The carpet is rectangular with a central medallion in red containing Chinese cranes and cloud bands set against a background of angular floral scrolls. Hunting scenes arranged symmetrically fill the dark blue field. Against a background of angular scrolls, mounted riders hunt deer with swords, bows and arrows and lances. Hunters mounted and on foot attack lions. A mounted hunter leans forward to plunge a dagger down the throat of a roaring lion, whilst another man, on foot, holds a lion by the ruff of its neck shaking the animal, whilst holding a dagger in his left hand ready to slit its throat.

A brocaded silk hunting carpet, now in Vienna, has a green central medallion with end sections of medallions in the four corners of the field. (Cat.18, fig. 16) Four pairs of Chinese dragons arranged symmetrically decorate the central medallion. Various animals are pursued by mounted huntsmen armed with swords, bows, arrows and spears in the salmon red field. The animals include lions, antelope, deer, mountain goats, wild boar, hares and foxes. Above the central medallion, a lion is being killed by a rider on horseback. The lion appears to be biting the rider's thigh, whilst the rider grasps the lion's ruff with both hands. Chinese clouds, birds of paradise and winged figures are placed against a scroll background in the border. The Vienna carpet was probably made circa 1537-40 from a cartoon supplied by Sultan Mohammad, one of Tahmasp's court painters, judging by its style and execution.<sup>58</sup>

The most famous of the hunting carpets is now in the collection of the Boston Museum. (Cat. 11) The decoration consists of a central quatrefoil medallion with a cartouche and pendant at each end. Panther dragons occupy the central medallion and its corner sections. The dragons brocaded in silver or gold are in combat with phoenixes. The light green field has a symmetrical composition of hunters, mounted and on foot attacking deer and other animals with swords, and bows and arrows. Hares are being killed with maces, and in a number of places men fight with lions in hand combat. The hunters are placed on a background of floral scrolls with red leaves, palmettes, rosettes and buds. The horses are black, white or spotted and the costumes of the hunters are in pink-red and blue, typical colours of Safavid dress. Some figures have individualized faces as do some of the figures on the Vienna carpet. The red border contains groups of figures, each representing a seated prince with attendants, some holding bowls of pomegranates, others bottles of wine. The groups are separated by two types of trees with paradise birds perched on the branches.

The fourth hunting carpet is now in Stockholm. (Cat. 27, fig. 24)

It is of silk brocaded with silver and silver gilt thread. The red field contains a central lobed medallion with a cartouche and pendant at each end. It is decorated with floral scrolls and blossoms. The field has running deer, gazelles, Chinese cloud bands and some wild animals, arranged symmetrically. Hunters on foot kill lions by plunging daggers down their throats. Authorities seem agreed that this carpet should be dated to the second half of the 16th century. The style is simpler than the Vienna and Boston carpets, and is closely related to velvets.<sup>59</sup>

These four carpets pose some questions. They were woven under Safavid patronage, were all made in northwestern Iran and are relatively close together in date and style. Are they merely extensions of scenes familiar in miniature painting, a transfer of motif from one medium to another made possible by improved technical facility, or do they have a symbolism of their own? Do they reflect pastimes of the royal court, or do they have a less explicit meaning? How and where might they have been used? The Boston carpet is made of silk, and thus of a luxury thread, rather than wool, it is very large and has a theme traditionally associated with royalty-the hunt. Scholars seem agreed that it was in all likelihood made for Shah Tahmasp himself, given its size and decorative theme.<sup>60</sup> They are also agreed that the throne was probably placed on the carpet or at one end.<sup>61</sup> It is more likely that the throne was placed in the centre as on the Milan carpet. If the throne were placed on the central medallion on the Milan carpet, this would then place the signature of Ghiyath ad-Din Jami under the throne. Ettinghausen suggests that this would render the artist's signature a statement of loyalty rather than self-aggrandisement, as the artist would have then made himself the support on which the base of the throne rested. It is suggested moreover that if the throne was placed at the centre, the Shah would then become the markaz-i donya 'centre of the world' or the qotb ai dowla, or qotbai-din 'pole of government' or 'pole of religion'.<sup>62</sup>

Are there any inscriptions on carpets to support this view? Although there are no inscriptions on the preserved hunting carpets - an inscription on a Persian carpet in Milan would lend credence to this theory:

Oh happy the carpet whose shadow at the banquet  
So longed to be spread under the footsteps of the King;  
A countenance, in nature, like the sun, in the path  
makes the carpet (before) his steps white wool ...

Its weft is woven from the threads of life;  
for the Darius of the world it is woven ...  
Let this carpet be in the path of the Darius of the world;  
a (healing) flower of this garden to be his safety.<sup>63</sup>

This verse equates the king with the ruler of the world and suggests that carpets were seen as a suitable medium for representation of these sentiments.

What is the symbolism, if any, of the hunt? Ettinghausen points out that four stages of huntsmanship are evident in the Boston carpet. A young man kills a hare with a mace, an older more experienced man spears a fast-moving gazelle, while a third kills a fast-moving game animal at closer range with a spear, while the ultimate in bravery and technique is reached by a man who slays a lion barehanded. "This is the battle royal par excellence and the Iranian counterpart of Samson's feat. It is the iconographic climax, and it is for this reason that in spite of its limited number of figures, the Stockholm carpet still includes such a scene ... the motif is there rendered even more remarkable by having the lion killed by a hero on foot."<sup>64</sup> Ettinghausen attributes the themes of the carpet's border - young men feasting, to the second major royal activity - feasting, quoting a Persian gold medal of the 11th century which shows scenes of feasting and hunting with a falcon. However as we have seen, numerous metalware objects also bear images of feasting, hunting and in some cases the playing of games, all royal activities.<sup>65</sup>

Ettinghausen points out that both the Vienna and Boston carpets

show the dragon and phoenix fighting. The dragon and phoenix are Chinese animals which are reputed to bring good fortune, however, here they are shown fighting. In Iranian zoological works, the dragon is said to be a powerful snake which should be killed, in other words it was seen as a destructive force; on the other hand the phoenix, under various names, is reputed to have miraculous qualities, one of its names being homa: "... if the shadow of the homa falls on a person, he will be made king in forty days. Indeed, from the name of this bird comes the adjective homayun ('august, royal, imperial')".<sup>66</sup> It is hardly surprising that this bird should be present on a royal carpet. Furthermore Ettinghausen suggests that the winged figures of the Vienna carpet would suggest links between the phoenix, king and paradise - the home of the winged houris.<sup>67</sup> Two further points are brought forward to support this argument: firstly, since Achaemenian times images of the throne have shown it elevated, for instance the relief in the Hall of One Hundred Columns at Persepolis; secondly, the references to paradise found on a carpet in Milan:

This is no carpet but a wild white rose -  
it is a veil for the sight of the lustrous-eyed  
(houris) ...  
It shows the way to the fountain of life,  
a picture of very wild beast has a place ...  
to the eye it is a petal unsoiled -  
as the locks of a houri braided together.<sup>68</sup>

While elements of the carpets may bring to mind the Muslim conception of Paradise - winged houris, every beast together, feasting, drinking and so on, it would be inaccurate to assume that the hunts on the carpets are taking place in Paradise. Ettinghausen writes that:

Already in the imagery of the Achaemenian period it is shown that the royal throne does not just rest on the ground but is lifted up ... while the carpets express the idea of "elevation" less literally than certain miniatures, which show a true apotheosis, this theme is implied in the carpets' imagery and with it the idea of transport to the celestial

regions of paradise. Here again reference may be made to various verses on the carpet in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, which are replete with allusions to paradise and to the houris, its beautiful inhabitants.<sup>69</sup>

Paradisiacal suras in the Quran promise the Believer 'gardens underneath which rivers flow, forever therein to dwell ...' None of the Quranic verses mention animals or hunting, merely promising that the tenants of Paradise shall be provisioned amply and eat of the flesh of fowl. Whilst we do read that God created all things, we cannot assume that heaven is a mirror image of earth, or that hunts take place in Paradise.

Certainly gardens in the Muslim world were thought of as being a paradise in the arid, monotonous landscape and poets likened them to paradise. A ninth-century Egyptian mystic Dhu'n-Nun composed a prayer which ran thus: "O God, I never hearken to the voices of the beasts or the rustle of the trees, the splashing of the waters or the song of the birds, the whistling of the wind or the rumble of the thunder, but I sense in them a testimony to Thy Unity and a proof of Thy incomparableness, that Thou art the All-Prevailing, the All-Knowing, the All-True."<sup>70</sup> Rumi writes "The trees are engaged in ritual prayer and the birds in singing the litany, the violet is bent down in prostration."<sup>71</sup> Descriptions of Paradise in the Quran seem to have served as a model for terrestrial gardens and poets have united the celestial and the earthly gardens in their poetry and one can accept that the garden carpet designs are motivated by thoughts of paradise, but the symbolism of the hunting carpets is not explicit enough to say that they too reflect paradise as represented in the Quran.

There may, however, be slight evidence for seeing the hunting carpets as representing portions of royal gardens and thus indirectly being connected with paradisiacal symbolism in a very general way as the gardens were thought of as paradisiacal retreats. Farrukhi describes Sultan Mahmud's new garden in Balkh thus:

The king strolled in a garden whose master was spring and whose servant was paradise; a garden which is an adornment of the kingdom and the pride and glory of Balkh; a garden whose trees are aloes and sandal and whose fragrant herbs are like coral; a garden like the arrival of love and the cheek of the beloved. A garden where the shadow of the Tuba falls and where Kausar bubbles up. You would find paradise here in November and spring in December. It is paradise, this garden of the great Sultan. In it are found the beautiful people of the feast, and the warriors of the army. Parts of it are praised as hunting grounds, and other parts are proper for feasting. In its midst is a kingly palace with two figures on its walls painted in decorated niches, facing the view. The painter has shown the king twice there, once in battle holding a lance, again at a feast with cup in hand. You can see in the garden a deep pool with a boat sailing in it, and wide enough to amaze the eye of a swimmer. It is entirely of marble and within it are fish, looking like brides wearing jewelled, golden earrings. Beside the pool is a small pavilion where the king can drink wine.<sup>72</sup>

#### CHAPTER FOUR SECTION 2 THE LION AND OTHER ANIMALS

Objects in the catalogue of this thesis have frequently had as a decorative motif the lion in association with other animals, either hunting or killing them. In this section I would like to look at the type of pieces bearing this imagery, focusing on the way in which the motif is used and the possible reasons for its popularity. As will be seen, the lion is most frequently shown hunting deer and gazelles. This motif has strong associations with the theme of the lion-bull combat discussed in Chapter Two. Does the motif consistently carry heavy astrological implications or is it sometimes used in a more lighthearted way as a decorative device? Perhaps it should be seen as having no greater significance than that the lion is portrayed hunting these animals, simply because they formed his essential diet? It seems most prudent to read these images as descriptive or narrative rather than symbolic, reserving the latter interpretation for images where the evidence clearly points in that direction.

### The Lion attacking the deer or gazelle

One of the earliest and most famous pieces showing a lion attacking a gazelle is the apse mosaic from the diwan at Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jordan, datable to before 743 AD, (Cat. 378, fig. 178). The mosaic shows a tree with golden fruit and lush spreading branches, with deer grazing on one side and on the other a lion attacking a gazelle, paws grasping the gazelle's back while it bites through the backbone. While this image may derive from genre painting or mosaics of Roman and Byzantine times, its placement within the palace in the raised apse of the bathhouse, which presumably bore the royal throne, gives it the connotation of power and royalty, according to Ettinghausen<sup>73</sup>. A lion attacks a deer on a Persian plate in the Hermitage Museum. Orbeli refers to this plate as representing the sun lion felling the ox of darkness, identifying it as Sasanian but giving no date.<sup>74</sup> Dimand suggests that it is post-Sasanian on the grounds that the stylization of the bodies and schematic rendering of the muscles differs from Sasanian art, being definitely Islamic in style<sup>75</sup>. The lion and stag have been curved to fit the circular bowl. The lion, with a strongly-marked face and stylized curly mane, waves his tail over which curls a palmette frond. The stag, equally strongly marked, is resting on a palmette under his belly. The lion pins down his prey with paws placed on the stag's neck and back. The placing of an animal group in the central circle is uncharacteristic of Sasanian art, as is the use of half-palmettes.

A lion attacks a gazelle on a piece assigned to Egypt and datable to between the 9th and 11th centuries. Fehérvári suggests that it most likely formed part of the lid of a larger vessel.<sup>76</sup> (Cat. 94, fig. 76) The lion and gazelle both face towards the left. The lion stands on the gazelle, his back legs towards the hind end of the prey, one front leg on the shoulders, while the other rests on the gazelle's head. The gazelle's legs are bent as if it had been caught just as it was ready to spring forward. In this, the maker has cleverly tailored the





animals to fit the constraints imposed by the small surface of the lid. A bronze handle attributed to Iran and datable to the 12th to 13th centuries, shows traced decoration of a lion confronting a gazelle on the flat top. An inscription confers good wishes (Cat. 131, fig. 105). Other pieces include an enamelled dish from Northern Mesopotamia dating to between 1114 and 1144. The dish was made for the Artuqid Dawud b. Sukman b. Artuq of Hisn-Kaifa. The inside shows the lion-deer motif as well as related scenes in which powerful animals or birds overcome weaker ones, all surrounding the apotheosis scene (Cat. 116, fig. 95).

On textiles we find related imagery. On a 12th-century textile from Spain (Cat. 443, fig. 219a-c) pairs of rampant lions flank a stylized tree, a small quadruped is placed under the feet of each lion. In other media, similar iconography is found. A stone slab from Hamadan in Northwest Iran, dated 1303-1304, (Cat. 404, fig. 198) shows a lion attacking a stag from the rear. The lion is standing on its hind legs, its front paws on the stag's back. The stag looks back at the lion. The lion is considerably larger than the stag. Other animals shown include two lions atop columns, a curious motif and hares.

The pieces discussed so far range in date from the eighth century to the 14th century and come from several different parts of the Muslim world. Their only connection seems to be in the theme of their decoration. The motif also occurs on Turkish ceramics and Persian textiles of the 16th century. Miniature paintings seem to bridge the chronological gap. If we look at miniatures simply for this theme rather than as illustrations for particular manuscripts, they may give some indication of how prevalent the idea was that lions hunt this sort of animal. A miniature taken from the Khamisa of Nizami dated 1481-82 shows Bahram Gur hunting (cat. 263). From our point of view, the most interesting detail is that a lion is shown with his front paws pinning down a deer. There are traces of blood around his mouth, as if he has just bitten the deer. A miniature, again taken from the Khamisa of

Nizami (Cat. 290) shows Bahram Gur transfixing with a single arrow a lion which has attacked an ass. The lion has leapt on the back of the shrieking ass. There is blood where its claws have touched the beast.

A miniature from Shiraz dated to 1504 shows (Cat. 296) a lion pouncing on an ass, breaking the animal's spine, blood dripping from the claw marks. A Persian miniature from the Divan of Shahi, showing a hunting scene, deals with the same subject (Cat. 313). The ass is screaming, neck and head curving round to look at the horseman, or possibly at the lion biting into the back of its neck. A charming calligraphic line drawing of the Isfahan school circa 1600 (Cat. 330, fig. 173) shows a lion biting the neck of an antelope, which is sprawled on the ground. A papercut from Ottoman Turkey dated to the 2nd half of the 16th century shows a tree at the side of which a lion outstretched, (Cat. 405, fig. 200) grasps a hind, biting into its rear flanks - a very similar scene to the Khirbat al-Mafjar mosaic, nearly a thousand years earlier.

The lion attacking a deer occurs on an Iznik ceramic flask of between 1550 and 1600 (Cat. 82, fig. 69). The flask is large. The decoration consists of monsters and grotesque animals. The lion's front paws clasp the deer's hindquarters as it bites the deer's backbone. A related piece of the same provenance and date presents a variant on this story. A tondino decorated with monsters and grotesque animals, has as its centrepiece a hyena type quadruped grappling with a snake. Around the rim there are various animals including a lion running after a deer. The lion is sprawled, front paws out as if the deer has just eluded his grasp (Cat. 83, fig. 70).

On a Persian textile of the 16th century (Cat. 445, fig. 220) a lion pursues a bull around all four sides of the border. In the inner field lions snarl at cow-like animals. On a textile datable to the late 16th century (Cat. 449), purple lions grapple with green hoofed animals. Similarly unreal colours characterise this type of scene in Safavid tilework. Related imagery occurs on another piece of the same

date where a lion grapples with a bovine animal. (Cat. 450, fig. 225)

We see that this motif occurs on metalwork, ceramics, textiles and manuscripts ranging in date from post Sasanian pieces to late 16th century velvets. We can conclude therefore that it was a popular image. It is not limited to a specific period, region or medium but seems to be part of the standard decorative repertoire. It appears in important buildings such as Khirbat al-Mafjar and also on minor pieces such as the Egyptian decorative lid, or the pieces of late 16th century Persian velvet. Is it possible therefore to determine whether it had a specific meaning, or alternatively whether it should be understood as a general theme found in both western and eastern art?

How is this image used in other cultures and could it have a wider meaning for Islam? This image occurs very early on. For instance, a bronze belt plaque from the Ordos region of northwest China shows a stag being attacked by a lion. The piece is datable to between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC.<sup>77</sup> Here the lion and stag meet head on. The lion is biting the stag's neck, the stag's horns form part of the interlace in the plaque. Rawson states that the theme may have had particular significance for the nomadic peoples of Russia and Central Asia as they were great hunters of animals.<sup>78</sup> Therefore they were likely to be close observers of the animals they hunted. Apparently the motif can be found in the art of Mesopotamia in the third millennium BC. Other examples come from the Aegean. She suggests that:

"This theme of the lion killing a lesser but stronger beast appears to have a significance which is parallel to the representation of the kings of the great settled civilizations killing lions as a symbol of their authority and power."<sup>79</sup>

The theme appears on Sasanian pieces. A silver dish in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg shows a lion attacking a bull, the bull flattened at the bottom of the dish, as the lion stands on his back, biting his neck.<sup>80</sup> Hartner says of this image:

"Among the objects of Sasanian art, the lion-bull motif is not lacking; however, these representations are so far not found in a royal context. Impressive as they are, they are therefore not yet proven to be symbolic representations of royal power, although such a meaning may very well have been intended."<sup>81</sup>

In Roman art animal combat scenes are found in the mosaic floor of the Great Palace at Constantinople and in the floor mosaics of Antioch, to name just two of the many representations of this sort of scene. At Thuburbo Majus, the mosaic at the centre of the frigidarium shows a lion leaping after a young doe<sup>82</sup>, while at Constantine in central Numidia (in the east of modern Algeria), a hunting pavement shows a scene with a lion which has just downed a gazelle. The lion is sitting on its haunches, looking back, holding down a gazelle with its front paws.<sup>83</sup> This mosaic is probably datable to the fourth century AD. The image even reached the northwestern part of the Roman empire. A mosaic preserved at St Albans, datable to between the mid-second century AD and the mid-fourth century, shows a lion grappling with a stag. Just the stag's head is visible as the lion bites just at the back of the horns.<sup>84</sup> So this theme was in use throughout the Roman world.

Tamara Talbot Rice addresses the nature of Animal Combat scenes in Byzantine art.<sup>85</sup> The largest category apparently are those showing the lion attacking a deer or bull. Examples include a plaque showing a lion attacking a deer. The lion is much bigger than the deer, crouched biting the deer's hind quarters. This plaque is datable to the tenth century and is set into the facade of the Little Metropolitan Church at Athens.<sup>86</sup> An 11th century relief also at Athens shows a lion attacking a deer. This time the deer faces away from the lion, who rears up over its hindquarters and bites into its spine at the shoulder.<sup>87</sup> Another 11th century relief now in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul shows a lion biting into the back of the gazelle. The lion grapples with the gazelle from the rear as the gazelle tries to flee, biting it just at

the shoulder.<sup>88</sup> Textiles now at St Calais from the seventh century show a lion attacking a wild ass.<sup>89</sup> Rice suggests that as the main design features Bahram Gur it may be that animal combat scenes actually reached the Byzantine repertoire from Persia.<sup>90</sup> Later she mentions that there are five other Byzantine textiles on the same theme.<sup>91</sup> Rice concludes that animal combat scenes as opposed to hunting scenes did not seem to be popular in early Byzantine art and that their inclusion was restricted to luxury textiles orientalised in character, however, that interest revived in the succeeding centuries. She surmises that the revival was due in part to the result of Seljuq advances into Byzantium. She concludes that

"The Seljuks must have carried them westward and in due course several Byzantine sculptors were encouraged to try their hand at depicting them .... they occupied a place, if only a modest one, in Byzantium's sophisticated and sumptuous repertoire until the 13th century, when the Mongols .... severed the slender link, which first the Sasanians and then the Seljuks had established by means of these designs between Byzantium's decorative art and those of central Asia and the ancient Orient."<sup>92</sup>

Influence then seems to have gone backwards and forwards. One of the most difficult pieces of all to approach, which bears this decorative motif, is the coronation robe of Roger II, made at Palermo in 1134.<sup>93</sup> (fig. 233) The mantle is split into two sections by a palmette. Each section has a lion or tiger, striped and with scrolling motifs decorating the body, attacking a similarly decorated camel. The camel is sprawled and curved to fit the edges of the robe. The lion, much bigger, stands on the camel's back holding the camel down. The lion's head is held very high, almost reaching away from the camel. This piece is a conundrum because although executed under Norman patronage in Sicily, the lions and camels are an eastern motif. Greek craftsmen were known to have been imported into Sicily<sup>94</sup> but it is perhaps more likely, given the accuracy and quality of the Arabic

inscription, that Muslim craftsmen wove this robe; after all, several of the Norman kings wore Islamic dress. As we have seen similar motifs are found in Greek art, yet the presence of kufic script in the borders suggests an Islamic influence. Woven material executed during the period of Islamic rule or influence in Sicily frequently depicts animals and birds, often in conjunction with Quranic quotations. Roger II encouraged production at the royal weaving school at Palermo which employed Muslim craftsmen, and embroidery formed part of the repertoire.<sup>95</sup> Much investigation remains to be done into the arts of Sicily and Islamic versus Byzantine heritage. Hartner suggests that this robe had a strong political usage.

As an official and public vestment, its iconography had to underline in a like manner these proud royal claims and do so in the symbolic language of the nature population ... the recent conquest and rule over an Arab land, as well as Roger's concern for the conversion of the "Saracens", could not be better expressed than by the age-old motif of the lion slaying a bigger but weaker animal. In this case the latter was appropriately given in the shape of a camel instead of that of a bull. The lion was recorded in its most majestic fashion and the geographical setting was indicated by a stylized palm tree.<sup>96</sup>

Hartner seems to imply that the lion represents Roger and the palm tree indicates the East while the camel indicates the Arabs- so the lion conquers the camel as Roger conquers the Arabs in Sicily. Certainly from this brief summary it is evident that similar motifs were found in the centuries preceding and including Islamic rule in North Africa, the Mediterranean and Islamic lands around the Mediterranean as well as further afield. As Tamara Talbot Rice points out though, tracing the sources and influences of such a prevalent motif is difficult, if not well nigh impossible.

The motif of the lion-deer combat does seem to stem from the same tradition as that of the lion-bull combat motif and may well originally have had the same meaning. Its wide dissemination geographically and

chronologically as well as its use on such a variety of media would tend to make one suspicious of its keeping the strength of the original iconography. It has been found on metalwork, probably made for the court, through humble items such as bath scrapers, suggest that while it was a powerful image, nonetheless it was also used on occasion - and perhaps more often - as a decorative device without deeper symbolism, at least by the time of its occurrence on Iznik pottery. The use of the lion-bull type motif as only one of many on Iznik pottery and Persian carpets would also serve to weaken any significant symbolism as powerful images usually form a focal point.

As we have seen, lion-bull imagery occurs in the 16th and 17th centuries on Persian carpets, it occurs in Persian miniatures, Persian textiles and Turkish pottery of around the same date. Why does it enjoy a resurgence of popularity at this time? The theme of the lion killing a deer, ass or bull is a common one in miniature painting portraying the hunt. The most likely explanation for this is that the court painters had witnessed hunts. Deer, gazelles and other quadrupeds are the lion's natural prey, so the court painters probably drew on their powers of observation and knowledge of natural history for the use of this motif.

#### The animal chase motif

The animal chase motif occurs particularly on metalwork in Islamic art. Three groups of animal imagery emerge. The first is that of birds: pheasants, ducks, partridges, geese, cocks and peacocks. The second group is formed of animals related to the hunt, while the third group consists of fish.<sup>97</sup> Single animals and pairs of animals will be discussed elsewhere in the thesis. Let us concern ourselves here with the use of the lion, in conformations not so far discussed, for instance in a running band of animals.

An animal frieze decorates a tray (Cat. 99, fig. 79) from Persia datable to the 11th or 12th centuries. Hares run along one side while

on the other side is a winged lion and several peacocks. The tray is oblong, with what appears to be birds in the central well, and birds in the four corners. An inscription runs round the edges. Animal friezes are composed mainly of animals of the hunt and various kinds of imaginary animals, either chasing each other or depicted in an ornamental fashion. Baer suggests that from the evidence available, late 11th to early 12th century friezes consist of animals depicted in a purely ornamental way, whilst from the middle of the 12th century, composite friezes were more common, representing animals of different species. The evidence available suggests that the earliest friezes occur on objects attributable to Persian workshops. Mesopotamian artists did not adopt the theme until the early 13th century.<sup>98</sup>

Another piece also datable to the 11th or 12th centuries, decorated with a band of animals is a bronze jug from Iran (Cat. 103, fig. 82). It has a seated lion on the handle, whilst a band on the body contains six animals: a boar, cheetah, gazelle, lion, bull and wolf in pursuit against a scrolling background. A mirror from Iran and datable to the 11th to 13th centuries bears relief decoration of quadruped animals riding round the centre. One of these may be a lion (Cat. 112, fig. 91). The Wade cup also from Iran and dated either to 1163 or 1221, (Cat. 127, fig. 102a-c) bears among much other decoration, bands with procession of real and imaginary animals. These include antelopes, dogs, cheetahs, sphinxes, harpies and birds. Of course this is just only one element in a very complex decorative scheme which includes zodiacal signs and fish wheeling disposed in a centralised design.

A candlestick attributed to Khurasan and datable perhaps to the late 12th or early 13th centuries is decorated with animal friezes (Cat. 139, fig. 112). In the upper frieze twenty-six birds are shown in profile looking towards the left. In the lower frieze, thirteen pairs of confronted lions sit on either side of trilobed floral motifs topped by lotus blossoms. An inscription wishes the owner good



fortune. This is one of the type of candlesticks which more properly belongs in Chapter Six. As Allan has shown, this type may have had astrological implications, above and beyond the decorative design.<sup>99</sup>

An ewer (Cat. 148, fig. 120) datable to the early 13th century and probably from Khurasan shows two seated lions on either side of a pouring lip. Other decoration consists of ibex heads, rosettes and lotus flowers divided into sections by vertical bands of epigraphy conveying blessings and good fortune on its owner. A candlestick from the sultanate of Rum or Armenia datable to the 13th century (Cat. 156, fig. 127) shows the use of bands of animals in an elaborate setting. The socket has three panels enclosing birds, while the shaft bears scenes of pleasure and pastures. Musicians play, a woman dances, buffoons entertain. On the shoulder are birds enclosed in roundels flanked by lions, wolves, other quadrupeds and human faced lions. Hunting scenes decorate the sides. Another candlestick of the same date and possible provenance also bears scenes of pleasure (Cat. 157, fig. 128). An enthroned figure is offered food in one scene. In others, riders hunt, musicians play and an upper scrolling border is broken into three sections enclosing a double-headed eagle, two rampant winged lions and two unicorns. A tray dated to around 1290 from the Yemen bears complex imagery (Cat. 167). The tray is decorated with inscriptions; in the centre a medallion contains a radiating disk decorated with a lion and sun. The surrounding medallions contain zodiacal imagery. Around this is a frieze of running quadrupeds. A third band of medallions contains court scenes, while the fourth ring has running quadrupeds including lions, foxes, hares, gazelles, bears, bulls, sphinxes and an elephant. A tray from Fars in Iran (Cat. 171) datable to the early 14th century has a sun disk in the centre. Seated figures raise goblets to their lips. There are other seated figures in the outer band. Twelve animals in a band around the central roundel run in an anti-clockwise direction. They include cheetahs, hares, salukis, a mountain goat, humped bull, dog, fox or wolf and a lioness.

There is an epigraphic border.

A much later piece bearing animal medallions is a wine bowl from western Iran datable to the late 16th or early 17th centuries (Cat. 186). The upper part consists of an epigraphic border interlaced with animal medallions. The medallions include felines, ibex, wolves, does and a hare. Another piece also from western Iran and datable to the early 17th century is a torch stand (Cat. 187, fig. 148). The main shaft is taken up with figurative panels. On the upper half six panels alternatively enclose gazelles, felines, lions, leopards and tigers. A bowl and cover from western Iran datable to the end of the 17th century (Cat. 190, fig. 150) bears animal imagery. The bowl itself has animals arranged in ten groups and includes a lioness devouring an ibex, a lion crouching in the grass while its mate rolls in play, does, hares, wolves, an angora goat, moufflons, leopards, a lioness biting the back of another lioness and a lion leaping. The cover is decorated with more animals playing: a wolf downs a doe, two hares leap away from a lion, a lion rolls over playfully in the grass, a lion and leopard fight. The animals are naturalistic and well observed full of a sense of playfulness. Melikian-Chirvani says of this bowl that it is decorated with animals of the wilderness - in Persian badiye. He says this may be a pun at the bowls' use as a wine bowl - also badiye. The style is archaistic making references to 14th century metalwork.<sup>100</sup>

A ceramic water jug, probably from Mesopotamia and datable to circa 1100 AD (Cat. 57) has a cable border band of ornamental kufic and hexagons filled with fantastical prowling animals including a lion, tiger, griffin, hares and birds. A large ceramic bowl attributed to Rayy, datable to the late 12th or early 13th centuries (Cat. 60, fig. 49) has a horizontal band of running dogs and lions set against a scrolling ground, above the main decoration. This bears a resemblance to some of the metal pieces discussed earlier, both in decorative motif and in the use of horizontal bands above the main decoration. Lustreware plates from Kashan datable to the 13th century bear similar

decoration to some of the metalwork. Another example (Cat.69, fig. 58) has human figures around the rim, engaged respectively in killing a variety of real and fantastical creatures. The animals and human figures are interspersed amid trees. Another plate of the same date bears confronted birds and lions along with a griffin, peacock and an unidentified bird. This sort of decorative repertoire is common on metalwork of the same time in Iran.

O. Watson in his recent book on Persian lustre ceramics has grouped lustreware into three styles.<sup>101</sup> The Monumental style is characterized by large scale motifs, and bold rendering, and bears a rather narrow range of motifs. Themes consist mainly of mounted horsemen and seated figures, although animals are sometimes shown in animal chases as an element of border design.<sup>102</sup> One of the characteristics of the Monumental style is its renderings of animals covered in spots, making it difficult to identify species conclusively. The second style is the Miniature style, identified by the way the pigments are painted directly on the glaze. Again, the repertoire of design is small, horsemen and seated figures combined with plants and arabesques, with animals used in border motifs.<sup>103</sup> The Kashan style was the last style to develop and also the finest.<sup>104</sup> The animals used are mainly gazelles, although dogs, lions, bulls and the elephant also appear.<sup>105</sup> Caiger-Smith, writing of early figurative lustre pieces with scenes of musicians, dancers and so on, writes that most of the images were borrowed from other sources, possibly wall paintings, silks, ivory carvings and metalwork.<sup>106</sup> The revival of lustreware under the Safavids did not include animals as a common form of decoration, but concentrated on floral and foliate designs.<sup>107</sup>

We see that the animal imagery on ceramics, simple at first, predates that which has been found on metalwork. We are unlikely to have a full corpus of metalwork and it may yet be found that there is a similar tradition of metalwork design in the 10th century. Certainly the ceramics of the 12th and 13th centuries seem to employ similar

decorative devices to the metalwork, which implies a common repertoire of imagery and an interest in using it. One suspects that the craftsmen borrowed designs from each other, as far as the technical limits of the different media would allow. One can postulate that the designs would first have been used in metalwork as the more precious material and courtly art, and copied in ceramics. Lustreware might be particularly appropriate as it is in itself an attempt to make ceramics resemble precious metal. If ceramics copy metal, rather than the reverse, this would suggest for a body of metalwork, so far undiscovered or perhaps no longer surviving, previous to the earliest so far known works with animal frieze designs. The present state of knowledge suggests that the earliest works date to the 11th century.<sup>108</sup>

Watson suggests that lustre production was a continuous process from its inception, passed on from generation to generation. He points out that such a technically difficult medium militates against independent discovery in a number of places.<sup>109</sup> The current state of knowledge suggests that the earliest pieces were made in Egypt, then Mesopotamia, although possibly still executed by imported Egyptian craftsmen. The story continues back in Egypt under the Fatimids; there is a secure provenance for these lustre wares.<sup>110</sup> Production apparently ceases in the second half of the 12th century, re-emerging in Syria and Persia very shortly thereafter.<sup>111</sup> If this is the case then perhaps historians of metalwork should look for pieces of Egyptian provenance concurrent with Fatimid lustreware. Perhaps the metalwork, if any remains, would have animal friezes earlier than those so far known.

Animal imagery seems to enjoy a resurgence in 16th-century and 17th-century Persian metalwork. Given that two of the examples discussed bear poetry with Sufi implications,<sup>112</sup> perhaps this apparent resurgence has Sufi connections. The desert of love without God may partly be expressed by the animals of the wilderness - the badiye. Animals feature on Safavid lustreware to a limited extent. Flowers and trees, however, form the basis of the majority of the decoration.

Strikingly, there is an avoidance of the use of Chinese influenced elements on lustreware,<sup>113</sup> yet as we have seen, contemporary carpets bear imagery with a Far Eastern derivation.<sup>114</sup> Contemporary with these developments in Persia, Turkish ceramicists produced Iznik ware decorated with animals, characteristically in white on a green ground with touches of black and bole red. An Iznik bottle bears simurghs, animals and birds on the body (Cat. 80). The animals include a leopard, cheetah, tiger and lion. An Iznik basin bears mythical and real animals (Cat. 81, fig. 68). Animals include what appears to be a pair of crowned hyenas, pairs of confronted lions, harpies and peacocks. There are other pieces with a similar array of animals. The animals on the pieces I have seen are stylistically similar to each other, raising the question of whether this group of ceramics was produced at a specific pottery. Certainly it is a group very distinct from the more usual floral and foliate designs. Again, mythological and real animals mingle as seen on earlier metalwork and on contemporary carpets in Persia. Some animals are grounded in Islamic tradition while others have Far Eastern antecedents.

While the animals found on the Iznik ceramics with their jumble of real and mythical creatures are reminiscent of the animals found on Seljuq metalwork, the metalwork is from a much earlier period. It has been suggested that the immediate antecedents of the type of animal imagery found on Iznik ceramics should be sought in the metalwork of the Balkan region.<sup>115</sup> Apparently several 16th-century Serbian pieces adapt a style found on 15th-century Ragusan pieces which have animal chase motifs. It is further suggested that the Serbian pieces display similarities in individual details to the animals found on Iznik pottery. Raby states that: "...a silver dish bears a lion in the centre which like the lions on Iznik pottery has its body depicted in profile, its head full-frontal; and it has the same exophthalmic, pug-nose features as the Iznik lions."<sup>116</sup> The piece in question is a silver bowl datable from the mid-16th century.<sup>117</sup> (fig. 239). The lion, while indeed

having the features described above, is found in a different setting as it is the central decorative motif of the bowl in a roundel in the bottom of the inner bowl, surrounded by foliage. Apparently the name 'Emir Khani' is scratched on the flank of the lion in early Armenian script.<sup>118</sup> Watts attributes this dish to South Russia and dates it to the end of the 13th century. Sarre suggests that it belongs to the 'Persian-Mongolian period' and might date from the end of the 14th century, while Harari feels unable to attribute or date it.<sup>119</sup> A rather similar lion stylistically to those found on the Iznik dishes is found in an Armenian manuscript in the British Library.<sup>120</sup> A silver-gilt lid belonging to a water bottle of 1580-85 AD, and contemporary with it, shows chasing animals (fig. 240).<sup>121</sup> One can speculate that may therefore have been a contemporary tradition of metalworking either by indigenous metalworkers, or workers from elsewhere working under Ottoman patronage.

## CHAPTER FOUR LITERATURE

### Introduction

This chapter will address two very different works of literature that have profoundly influenced the course of Persian miniature painting. Each work represents a classic type of literature, varieties of which are found in many cultures and each had a seminal influence on Islamic culture and art. The first book to be addressed is the Kalila wa Dimna, animal tales with strong moral implications - part of the tradition of fables shared by such works as Aesop's Fables, stories where animals take on the character of humans, for the purpose of teaching moral and political lessons. The second work to be addressed is very different in form - a long poem of heroic deeds - telling the story of Persia and its kings, providing a noble past for Islamic monarchs in Persia, and a fund of stories to be told and retold, illustrated in miniatures through the centuries, namely the Shahnama.

### SECTION 1

#### Kalila wa Dimna

This section of Chapter Four will address aspects of the Kalila wa Dimna tales. Issues to be examined include the political and literary climate at the time the tales were translated into Arabic, the background of the translator and his particular suitability for this task and the tales themselves and the political themes embodied in them, concluding with an analysis of selected episodes illustrated by miniaturists through content, form and iconography.

A genre of Adab literature was established during the Abbasid period detailing 'a way of acting or behaving according to traditional norms'. Manuals for the guidance of rulers were known as 'mirrors for princes'. They dealt with the ethics of the ruling classes, recommending proper rules of conduct and an ideal of government.<sup>1</sup> The genre developed from pre-Islamic Persian culture and was modelled on

Pahlavi prototypes.<sup>2</sup> From the ninth century onwards Islamic political life was influenced by Persian traditions. The necessity for the literary genre came into existence with the development of a multi-racial society and the end of Arab rule.<sup>3</sup> The Abbasids were heavily influenced by Sasanian traditions and developed theories of the divine right of kings.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 759) a convert to Islam who became one of the foremost political writers of the time adopted a middle road stating that the ruler had a right to be obeyed and that a code of conduct should be arrived at by precedent and usage, tradition and analogy, through which the state exercised control over religion and law.<sup>5</sup> He was attempting to define the nature of political stability.<sup>6</sup> This version of the state was discussed in his book the Adab al Kabir in which he writes that kingship is based either on religion, the will to rule, or personal desire, the first being much the more preferable.<sup>7</sup> The Adab al-Kabir then, is for the guidance of the ruler. Its companion volume - the Adab al-Saghir deals with the appointment of officials and their treatment as well as the way officials themselves should act if they wish to avoid calamity.<sup>8</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa' is perhaps best known as the translator of the Kalila wa Dimna fables into Arabic. These fables derive from a collection of Indian animal stories often attributed to a Brahmin philosopher - Bidpai, written for King Dabshalim. The title is a corruption of the names of the two main protagonists: jackals called respectively, Karataka and Damanaka. The tales consist of an introduction and five books. They were intended as a 'mirror for princes'. Khusraw Anushirwan (531 - 579 AD) had the tales translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi. The Sanskrit and Pahlavi versions have been lost, but a Syriac translation made very shortly after the Pahlavi translation survives.<sup>9</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa' appears to have based his translation on the Pahlavi translation of Anushirwan.<sup>10</sup> Apparently this translation was



closely guarded and access to the manuscript was restricted. Ibn al-Muqaffa' wrote an introduction to his translation in which he states his aims:

"It behoves him who beholds and acquires this book to know that its benefits are fourfold: first, the advantage of setting forth the text as conversations between speechless beasts, to wit, the young seeking amusement and fiction may hasten to read it and their hearts be inclined to it, for this is the aim in relating the strange cunning of animals; second, the advantage of showing resemblances of animals in all sorts of hues and colours, so that kings have made it their hearts' companion and their eager desire for it is intensified because of the delights they get from these illustrations, third, the advantage that, having these qualities, it is sought for by kings and plebeians (alike); this encourages many translations which keeps it from dropping out of use and getting old in the course of time; also illustrators and copyists profit by this eternally; fourth is the ideal and ultimate purpose, that pertains to the philosophers exclusively."<sup>11</sup>

Ibn al-Muqaffa' is disingenuous in his introduction in that the primary function of the 'mirror for princes' is as political advice literature. The Kalila wa Dimna tales are far more than charmingly written animal fables intended only to amuse.

Ibn al-Muqaffa's version was translated into Persian verse by Rudaki<sup>12</sup> (died 916 AD). Another version was made in the 12th century and a third version in the following century.<sup>13</sup> Finally, Husayn wa'iz Kashifi (died 1504 AD) made a translation called the Anvar-i Suhaili.<sup>14</sup> While retaining much of the structure of the earlier versions, a new introduction was written in which it was stated that the Emperor of China was told the story of Dabshalim. In this version Dabshalim was told the way to a cave of treasure in a dream. Dabshalim kept the testament of the King of Iran which contained fourteen rules for princes. Bidpai thereupon explained and illustrated each rule by a fable.<sup>15</sup> Numerous translations into other languages have been made.

### Chapters illustrated by miniatures containing lions

The choice of chapters to be illustrated by miniatures containing lions is straightforward - the story must contain an episode or episodes involving lions: for instance, the tale of 'The Lion and the Ox'.<sup>16</sup> In this tale the philosopher story-teller is entrusted with the task of composing a moral tale to illustrate how a false friend can separate two good friends by causing them to distrust each other.<sup>17</sup> The story of 'the Lion and the Ox', then, has a moral theme, it also has a political application in that the lion is brought to distrust the ox by a corrupt courtier in the form of the jackal Dimna. The lion plays the part of the king. He comes into the story when the two jackals: Kalila and Dimna, employed at his court, realise that the lion is frightened by the noise of the ox bellowing. Dimna goes to visit the ox and reports back to the lion, who invites the ox to come and live near him. The two become great friends. Dimna becomes violently jealous and is determined to make them mistrust each other. He tells the 'Story of the Lion and the Hare'. Frequently, the tales use the literary device of a story within a story, as a way of representing political manoeuvres and behaviour and the outcome of such behaviour. In the story of the lion and the hare<sup>18</sup>, the lion is shown as credulous and gullible, easily misled. This is not fit behaviour for a king. The lion finally drowns in the well as he jumps in attacking a reflection of himself, believing that he sees a rival.

Dimna then lies about the ox, saying that he is plotting terrible things and that the lion should kill the ox in self-defence. The jackal tells the ox the same story. The ox wants to check the truth of the story with the lion, but Dimna tells him he is as naive as the camel and relates the story of the lion, the crow, the wolf and the jackal.<sup>19</sup> To cut a long story short, the lion and the ox fight, the lion kills the ox and then realises that Dimna has deceived him. The story continues with Dimna being brought to trial, imprisoned and dying of starvation.

As we will see, throughout the tales there are long political speeches such as the one Kalila makes to Dimna when Dimna is first set on the course of gaining the confidence of the lion:

"It is not every man who is assisted by a prince, but only he who is very near him is accounted worthy of his honour and receives his gifts. And he (the prince) is like a garden; for the extremities of its branches only entwine and overspread those trees or walls that are near to it. But you, O brother, are one who is stepping beyond his sphere, and is ignorant of the smallness of his stature, and unacquainted with his own significance. How is it that you have set your mind upon the promotion which you are to gain yourself and to procure for another from the lion, seeing that you are one of the mean persons at his gate, and not esteemed?"<sup>20</sup>

Dimna replies:

"I understand, brother, what you say; but know that those who are near the king (now) were not so once, but have attained to a high position, though they used to occupy a mean one; only little by little they pushed forward, and their position became distinguished, and they were promoted to high rank. As for me, I shall try with all my might to approach the lion, and (then) I expect to captivate his mind by my excellent counsels. Because it has been said by the wise that unless a man patiently stands at the gate of the palace, bears annoyances, pockets indignities, endures hardships, does not disdain to eat and drink with the crowd, favours those who go in, and pays court to the servants, he fails to realize his hope, or to receive what he asks for."<sup>21</sup>

The tale continues with Dimna flattering and deceiving, the lion being flattered and led astray by his own vanity and lack of insight while Kalila warns that it will all come to a sticky end, as indeed it does, with Dimna imprisoned and the lion having lost a true friend in the ox. The sentiments expressed mirror much of the advice and warning given by Ibn al-Muqaffa' in his political writings. It is easy to see why he found these tales so attractive.

The tales may have posed a problem for the miniature painter in that while the actions of the animals are vividly described, as for instance in the fight between the lion and the ox<sup>22</sup>, there is very

little physical description of the animals. Dimna and Kalila are never described. The lion is referred to as 'king of the beasts' but he is not described as big or little, heavily or lightly maned, golden or brown and so on.

"Show me the similitude of two men, companions or friends, between whom a false or astute cunning individual has produced dissension, so that they have been turned from mutual love and harmony to hatred and enmity".<sup>23</sup>

And so the story begins. The lion enters the story and is afraid of the bellowing of the ox.

"Now in that region was a certain lion, who was being of all the animals therein, and was named Pingalaka."<sup>24</sup>

He is further described as being

"exceedingly haughty in spirit, and whatever he wished to do, he did independently, without employing the advice of anyone."<sup>25</sup>

Enter also Kalila and Dimna - the crafty jackals - described as being in the lion's camp and at his royal gate. Dimna characterises the lion in the following speech.

I wish to approach the lion: because he is weak in his intellect and lacking in his mind, and all the more so at this time for his thoughts are distracted, as is also the case with all his associates; so that perhaps while he is cast in this state of anxiety and his spirit is tortured with distress and misery, I may open before him the door which is now shut in his face, and that by means of my good and sound counsels our position with him may become distinguished, and that we may become great in his eyes and intimate with him, and be honoured by him.<sup>26</sup>

Not much meat for the illustrator here. Perhaps first we should catalogue which scenes were chosen to be illustrated, then look at how it is done and whether the iconography reflects the message of the Kalila wa Dimna tales or whether it merely illustrates selected scenes at their most immediate level.

A typical range of miniatures containing lions is found in the

manuscript of Kalila wa Dimna known as Pococke 400, written and illustrated in 1354 AD.<sup>27</sup> The manuscript has eleven miniatures in which the lion features as a motif. These can be identified as follows:<sup>28</sup>

1. fol. 416 Dimna with the two lions (Cat. 213)
2. fol. 45a Dimna with the lion and the ox (Cat. 214, fig. 162)
3. fol. 51b The hare and the lion looking down the well (Cat. 215, fig. 163)
4. fol. 58b The lion and the elephant fighting (Cat. 216, fig. 164)
5. fol. 60a The lion, crow, wolf and jackal attacking the camel (Cat. 217, fig. 165)
6. fol. 63a The lion and the ox fighting (Cat. 218, fig. 166)
7. fol. 70a The lion with his mother (Cat. 219, fig. 167)
8. fol. 138b The lion and the jackal (Cat. 220)
9. fol. 142b The lion with the jackal and wolves (Cat. 221)
10. fol. 150a The lioness finds her cubs killed and skinned. (Cat. 222)
11. fol. 150b The lioness eats plants having forsaken meat. (Cat. 223)

The illustrations seem to divide into the passive and the active. The passive scenes can be listed as folios 41b, 45a, 70a, 138b, 142b, 150a and 150b.

In these miniatures there is little movement and certainly in the case of folios 41b, 45a and 70a - as examples, without the context given by the surrounding text it would be hard to ascertain the part in the story which the miniature illustrates. Folio 41b, 45a and 70a - as examples, without the context given by the surrounding text it would be hard to ascertain the part in the story which the miniature illustrates. Folio 41b 'Dimna with the two lions', just shows Dimna

the jackal seated under vegetation on the left, left paw raised as if gesturing in conversation. On the right framed by vegetation, the two lions sit, the bigger and further one has its mouth open as if about to talk, while the near one has an intent listening expression. This is a general representation which is appropriate to several parts of the story.

Other scenes which I have classed as passive are easier to identify. For instance, it is possible to attribute the conversation of the lion with his mother to a specific part of the illustrative cycle. In Pococke 400, folio 70a, shows the lioness sitting on the left listening to the lion who sits on the right. The lioness has a much less heavy mane than the lion, and no ruff around her neck. She is also slightly smaller. The lion on the right has a distinctive ruff and is the larger of the two. One conjectures from the text that they are talking, but apart from this there is very little one can say about the miniature. If we look at an earlier manuscript, OR 13506 in the British Library, dated to around 1307-08, folio 74b deals with the same subject.<sup>29</sup> (Cat. 206) In this miniature the lion and his mother talking under two trees. The lion is seated to the right and the lioness is seated to the left. The lion is darker and bigger than his mother, lines indicate his ruff, the lioness has a smaller mane and a less weighty body. We can see that over a period of fifty years the image has changed little.

We can now look forward to the late 1400's a period to which MS Fraser 100 in the Bodleian Library has been tentatively dated.<sup>30</sup> Folio 160b shows two lions conversing (Cat. 281). A maned lion is seated on its haunches to the right of the picture, his right forepaw raised. The other lion with a lighter mane, probably a lioness, is sitting ears pricked, on the left. We see therefore that over a period of nearly one hundred years, the image has not changed significantly. The artist has merely followed the text which states that the lion's mother went to him on hearing that he had ordered the jackal to be put to death.

"But the lion's mother, knowing that he had acted hastily...sent word to those who had been ordered to kill him, bidding them wait. Then she went in to her son, and said"...my son you have been too hasty. The wise man guards against regret by avoiding hast, and by patience.... Now, having tried the jackal and tested his disposition, good faith, and virtue, you used to praise him continually, being pleased with him. The King ought not to accuse him of treachery, after having been pleased with him and confided in him.<sup>31</sup>

The lion and the hare looking down the well gives the artist slightly more scope for invention. In this episode the hare outwits the lion, leading him to imagine there is a rival lion in his territory. The hare leads the lion to a well, the lion sees his rival in the water, jumps in and is drowned. The hare utter the following words as she leads the lion to his doom:

'Here is the lion and the fat hare with him. But I fear to go near him. (So) pray place me against your breast that I may not be afraid of him, and I will show you where he is.' When he had placed her against his breast, she showed him his reflection and hers in this clear water. Whereupon the lion leaped in to snatch the hare from the breast of the other lion. And he fell into the pit, while the hare escaped to the other side.<sup>32</sup>

How does the miniature painter interpret this scene? In OR 13506 folio 52b the lion and the hare stand over on the right side of the well (Cat. 202, fig. 158). The lion has his hind legs on the ground. The hare seems to be resting on the side of the well. The faces of the animals stare back from the bottom of the well. The well itself is rimmed with rocks. In Pococke 400, folio 51b, the lion stands on the right. He looks down at his reflection (Cat. 215, fig. 163). On the left, the hare sits looking down. The lion seems poised, ready to spring at his reflection looking up at him from the opposite side of the well. The hare's reflection is also visible on the opposite side of the well from where she sits. The animals have been given much character in their expressions and a sense of being poised on the edge of movement. This scene is not shown in MS Fraser 100, instead folio

110b has the hare showing the elephant his reflection in the pool.<sup>33</sup>

I have quoted enough examples to indicate the difficulties facing the miniature painter in the lack of specific directions in the text in the case of the jackals and the lion conversing, also with the lion and his mother talking. In one case the imagery is very unspecific, in the other case the philosophical content of the episode does not lend itself to artistic representation. Three separate manuscripts illustrate this scene in very similar ways. The lion and the well is slightly different, in that (going by the English translation) specific mention of the event is made in the text: the lion clasps the hare and looks down at their reflection in a pit. In some cases the pit seems to have been transformed into a well and in neither case does the lion clasp the hare. The way the reflections are shown defies natural laws of common observation in one case. I would conclude therefore, that the way in which the event is described is not considered of vital importance when transposed to illustration. What does seem important is conveying a sense of the animals' characters or as in the case of the lion and the well, the artist has chosen to portray an identifiable event.

Rather than take every illustration and trace its antecedents or comment on the lack of them, as the case may be, I will examine the depiction of two events in the story through a number of manuscripts. In this way an evolution of style or content may become evident. The two episodes I have chosen are the lion and other animals killing the camel, and the lion and the ox fighting. The miniatures to be discussed span a period of three hundred years. In the text this episode is described by Shanzabeh the ox as he asks Dimna what he should do if the lion wants him killed or rather is persuaded to kill the ox by jealous courtiers.<sup>34</sup> Shanzabeh relates that a certain lion had as companions a wolf, crow and jackal. One day the lion encountered an elephant, they fought and he was wounded. The lion had promised to look after a camel, but as he got hungrier the jackal



tricked him out of this promise. The animals each in turn offered themselves as food and were rejected. The poor camel offered himself and no-one objected...

"'Pray let the valiant King begin and eat me.'  
(Whereupon) the crow, the jackal and the wolf,  
wicked companions all, said: 'You have spoken  
the truth and been true to your noble  
character, and performed what was due and  
discharged your obligation.' Then they fell  
upon him and tore him to pieces."<sup>35</sup>

One of the earliest representations of this scene is in the Bibliothèque Nationale Manuscript A. 3465, folio 66a, dated to circa 1222.<sup>36</sup> This is on a plain background and has no frame. There is a mad scrabble of animals. The camel is lying on its back, feet waving, neck bent back on itself. The lion, on the right, has its front paws curved around the camel's neck, and is biting it. One jackal has actually leapt on the camel and is chewing at a leg, while the other gnaws the back of the hump. Both jackals are on the left. The crow with wings outspread flaps in the grass at the bottom of the picture.

A manuscript dated to 1279-80 (A.F. Pers.376) also in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>37</sup> has as the backdrop for this scene a sandy plain dotted with clumps of flowers. The camel is outstretched on its back. A jackal bites the soft belly between the front legs, while the lion stands and bites the underbelly on the right. The other animals are too indistinct to make out. OR 13506 in the British Library shows this scene in folio 63b dated to 1307-8. (Cat. 203) The title is listed as 'the lion assisted by the wolf, leopard and Dimna treacherously attacking the camel'. The miniature occupies the upper part of the page. It has a red background and scattered splodgy flowers. A tree to the left is green with golden fruit. Animals include a leopard with white spots and a blackbird with a gilt halo. The lion sprawls on the upper right, tail up, hind legs outstretched. The leopard also leaps on the camel from above. Dimna lies biting the

camel on the back of the neck. The camel lies on its back, its head thrown back, mouth open braying.

The Topkapi Saray Museum miniature H. 363, fol. 68b<sup>38</sup> dated 1320 AD is rectangular and has a red background. The camel is on its back, legs in air, head back. The lion on the upper right, holds down the body as it prepares to tear the chest. On the right the jackal holds the camel down by its neck, as it gnaws. The other jackal bites the camel's hump. The crow resides at the bottom of the page. The National Library of Cairo manuscript AF 61, dated to 1343-4,<sup>39</sup> has the text above and a rectangular miniature below. The ground is sandy with clumps of flowers and grass. The camel is stretched out along the length of the miniature. it is lying on its back, head facing left. The lion is to the right, standing on its hind legs gnawing at the camel's rump, blood drips from the camel which is trying to kick in self-defence. One jackal gnaws at the camel's chest, while the other sits gnawing at the neck. The crow perches on the camel's head, pecking at its eyes. Blood spouts wherever the animals chew or the bird pecks. In Pococke 400 folio 60a (Cat. 217, fig. 165) the lion, the crow, the wolf and the jackal attack the camel. The camel lies on its back, neck arched, head twisted under the body. The jackal stands on the lower left gnawing the camel's neck, which the wolf gnaws higher up. The crow picks at a kicking leg, while the lion on the right, using his front paws to gain purchase rips open the camel's soft underbelly. Finally, the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript of 1392.<sup>40</sup> has the miniature occupying the upper two-thirds of the page with the text below. The action is centred in the lower half of the picture. The lion is on the left facing the centre, while the camel is on the right facing centre. The lion stands on its back legs, front legs clasping the camel's neck. The lion bites the neck, one animal gnaws at the camel's hump, while another gnaws at the rump. The crow pecks at the eyes.

The imagery again remains remarkably consistent over a long span of time. Sometimes an animal is added or substituted for the standard

iconography, as in the case of the leopard. Sometimes the crow takes an active part while at other times he hops around at the bottom. In the earlier manuscripts the illustration is a bit bare, while in the later ones there is more attempt at a landscape setting. Overall though there is a consistency in the posture of the camel and in the activities of the animals. The lion is particularly well observed and naturalistic in the majority of the manuscripts. The artists seem to have had a keen knowledge of natural history as evidenced by the way in which the animals kill, and to have taken some care in emphasising the fiendish delight of the animals taking part in the spectacle and contrasting it with the suffering of the poor camel.

Our second theme is the fight between the lion and Shanzabeh the ox (or bull). As usual Dimna sets the situation up, telling the ox that he will know the lion is angry if he sees that:

"...the lion's face is gloomy, the gaze of his eyes intent, his ears extended like arrows and his mouth growling, and that he is stamping on the ground with his paws, then know he is ready to slay you."<sup>41</sup>

Dimna, meanwhile, has told the lion that the ox will reveal his evil intent in signs:

....when he enters your presence, he will show you his appearance according to the evil of his heart, for you will see that his colour is changed and that his limbs totter, and that his face looks to the right and left, and you will see his horns extended like arrows that he may thrust and do battle with them."<sup>42</sup>

The inevitable fight is described in terse terms:

Then came Kalilah and Dimnah together to see what course their affair was taking. And they saw the ox going in to the lion with his face downcast and the beauty of his appearance altered. And when the lion saw the ox coming in to him he became downcast in face, extended his ears like two arrows and began to stamp with his paws. Then the poor ox, fool of heart, thought that the lion wished to leap upon him.... And the ox thought on these things with his appearance altered and his body trembling. When the lion saw him thus, he remembered what Dimnah.... had said, and thought the poor ox was about to do battle with him. Whereupon the lion leaped on the

ox, and they began to fight (so desperately)  
that the lion's body and that of the ox were  
torn and dabbled with blood." <sup>43</sup>

The actual description of the death is brief, the lion had killed the envied, injured ox, outright. How does the miniature painter portray this series of events in the manuscripts under consideration?

I will describe briefly the iconography of eleven examples ranging in date from circa 1222 to the late 1400's. The earliest manuscript to be discussed is A.3456 in the Bibliothèque Nationale attributed to circa 1222 AD. Folio 71b<sup>44</sup> shows the kneeling bull facing the edge of the miniature on the left, his head is bowed and body humped. The lion appears to have taken a flying leap for the bull; his back paws are up in the air, his front paws clasp the bull, and he bites the bull's hump. The jackals watch, yapping on the right at the lion's heels, almost out of the picture.

The Bibliothèque Nationale Manuscript A.F.Pers. 376, dated to 1279-80, folio 74b<sup>45</sup> sets the action on a grassy plain. The jackals sit at the top looking at each other while the bull is at the bottom left and the lion at the bottom right. The bull's front legs are bent, its neck on the ground as it tries to raise its head. The lion seems much more powerful than the bull. He stands on his back legs to the left of the picture. He holds the bull down with his forelegs, biting the backbone just before the hump.

The British Library manuscript 13406 folio 66b (Cat. 204, fig. 159) has the lion attacking Shanzabeh watched by Kalila, Dimna, the wolf and the leopard. Kalila is seated on the upper right. Dimna on the lower right. The lion stands on his back paws in the middle of the picture. He seems to be biting the ox on the back. Shanzabeh is wearing a saddle-blanket. The lion is the biggest animal in the miniature.

The Topkapi Saray manuscript H1. 363, dated to 1320<sup>46</sup> shows, (fol. 72b) the bull standing, striped black and white like a zebra. The lion towers over the bull, front right paw held across the bull's back,

gnawing at the bull's hump, eyes closed, ears back, like a big cat enjoying itself. The lion stands on his hind legs.

The Pococke 400 version of this scene (fol. 63a) (Cat. 218, fig. 166) just has the ox and lion fighting. The lion rears up on the left, his left paw holding Shanzabeh by the hump while the right paw rests on the ground to stabilise himself. He bites into the back of the ox's neck. Shanzabeh is hunched over, head down, front legs close to collapsing, a picture of dejection. The lion and the ox are similar in size, the lion is portrayed as much more energetic and vigorous, the aggressor. Esin Atil writes of this image that the animals have hit each other with such force that both are lifted off the ground.<sup>47</sup> Yet in my view, the scene represents aggression on the part of the lion and dejection on the part of the ox.

Bibliothèque Nationale A 3467, (fol. 40b)<sup>48</sup>, has the lion on the left and the bull on the right with their heads meeting in the centre. The lion's front left paw clasps the bull's hump, while his right paw holds down one of the bull's hooves. The bull's head is bowed in a dejected attitude as the lion gnaws away. The lion is almost as big as the bull.

The University of Istanbul manuscript <sup>49</sup>(FY 1422), has a rocky landscape with trees. The two jackals sit watching on the right. At the bottom of the picture the bull is grotesquely twisted, the lion biting his arched back. The lion is standing on its back legs, front paws clasping the bull.

The Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript <sup>50</sup>dated circa 1393, has a sandy landscape with sprawling clumps of flowers. The lion stands on its hind legs, head facing left. its front legs grasp the bull's hump which it appears just about to gnaw. The bull's neck is bent under the weight of the lion, its front legs collapsing to the ground. The lion is as big as the bull.

Topkapi Saray R. 1023 dating to 1423<sup>51</sup> is a rectangular miniature at the bottom of the page of text. The setting is a sandy landscape

with naturalistic clumps of flowers. The bull faces right, the lion faces left. The jackals are partly shown, heads forward, barking on the right. The lion claws the bull round the hump, biting and pulling and blood spurts. The bull stands open mouthed, the whites of his eyes showing, his head down and his back right leg stretching out of picture frame as does the lion's tail.

The Topkapi Saray R.1022 manuscript is dated 1429<sup>52</sup> In fol. 46b the action is placed in a landscape setting with trees bearing leaves and blossoms, naturalistic blue tinged hills, a sandy plain and clumps of grass and plants. The two jackals bark on the left and right respectively and the picture spills out over the edge of the frame. The lion faces right, the bull faces left. The bull is on its back, mouth open. It wears a chain around its neck. The lion stands tail up waving, his back left leg extended while his back right leg holds the bull down at the neck. The lion's front paws clasp the bull as it gnaws at his soft exposed belly.

Bibliothèque Nationale Sup Persan 1639 dated 1467<sup>53</sup> has trees, rounded hill, dark sky and clumps of grass shown in a regular and stylised manner. The lion is on the left facing right, the bull is on the right facing left. The bull's front legs are collapsed, chin resting on the ground, mouth open. The lion stands on its hind legs, front paws holding the bull down while it gnaws at the hump. The lion is smaller than the bull; there are no other animals. The final image under consideration is MS Fraser 100 datable to the late 15th century. The lion rears on its hind legs, scratching the ox's back, as it bites its underbelly. The animals are thinly delineated and while there is a sense of action, there is no sense of volume. (Cat. 275)

To sum up, we see very little change in the iconography of the image throughout the centuries. The lion is generally shown as the aggressor, often physically as big as the bull. The bull is frequently shown collapsing under the weight of the lion. The lion mainly aims for the hump and vulnerable spine mainly, but occasionally for the soft

underbelly. Sometimes the jackals watch and sometimes they do not; this does not seem to have any particular significance. The landscape becomes fleshed out in the later miniatures, which develop more into pictures adding realistic details such as the blood spurting.

Hourani discusses Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts produced before 1500. She deals with the lion-bull combat at great length. She postulates the emergence of a picture cycle in relation to the text, analysing the relationship of the lion to the bull in the death scene and tracing the shifts in postures of the bull and lion. She divides the illustrations of the Kalila wa Dimna cycle into three groups by date, style and iconography and concludes after careful analysis that the fables most illustrated are those encapsulated in the titles of the chapter. Talking of combat scenes she concludes that "...a scheme is followed which adheres to other descriptions of similar fights and which goes back to pre-Islamic ancient traditions of depicting such scenes." <sup>54</sup> Certainly as discussed earlier in the chapter on the lion-bull combat, there is a well established iconography in the Near East for depicting lion-bull combats; however, while this established repertoire may have served to provide inspiration for the miniature painter, the meaning behind earlier images, having as it does, a strong astrological content, is totally different from the meaning of the image in the context of the Kalila wa Dimna stories. The text is necessary in the Kalila wa Dimna stories to arrive at the iconography of the image, yet paradoxically the text gives very little description of the actual fight scene other than that the lion leaped on the ox and they fought bloodily. The artist has fleshed out this brief description perhaps with conscious reference to other lion-bull iconography and a knowledge of natural history in that the lion is shown consistently killing the ox in the way it would in a real life encounter.

Raby has established that illustrations to the Kalila wa Dimna tales have a long pre-Islamic history in a variety of media.<sup>55</sup> The

stories obviously gave great delight, enhanced one presumes by the illustrations. Certainly the stories have remained constant in Islamic miniature painting continuing right into the 19th century illustrations to the Anvar-i Suhaili.

At the beginning of this section I stated that the investigation of the Kalila wa Dimna cycle would conclude with an analysis of the episodes illustrated by miniaturists through content, form and iconography. I would concluded that the illustrations themselves are simple, becoming perhaps slightly more complex or at any rate filled with detail as the centuries proceed. The content is established by context, for instance the lion and the jackal may be shown talking at several points throughout a manuscript, the subject of their conversation is not made clear through the iconography of the illustration itself, but rather through the context of the illustration, i.e. its placement in the text. A number of the illustrations in every manuscript suffer from this ambiguity if divorced from the text. In many instances, the illustrations may serve as pointers or rest places in the text or simply to enliven the rather meaty philosophical issues at stake, they cannot, however, bear the weight of serving as a visual interpretation or explication of the text. Exceptions to this are scenes such as the lion-bull combat or the lion and other animals killing the camel. These could be understood as telling specific stories even if divorced from the text, yet paradoxically while unmistakably illustrating specific events. The text, at least as translated into English, has left the artist great liberty as to how the scene may be portrayed.

There are many images of the lion in illustrations to the Kalila wa Dimna tales. Many of these images are charming and expressive, the animals reflecting an almost human range of emotions. The illustrations are by no means expressive of the complex ideas of citizenship, kingship and their respective rights and duties which are embodied in the stories. They reflect the content of the stories on a



simple level, perhaps most successfully when illustrating a physical event, such as the lion tearing apart the camel, and perhaps least successfully when illustrating passive episodes such as the lion listening to the leopard, or the lion and his mother talking. The Pococke manuscript in particular shows the lion as a volumetric, realistically observed animal with a wide range of postures and emotions, correctly observed from the point of view of natural history.

### The Shahnama

The Shahnama - (Book of Kings) of Firdausi (ca 940-1020) provides a fruitful source of imagery for the miniature painter. Completed in 1010 AD, the work recounts the history of the mythical sovereigns of Iran from the Creation to the Arab conquest. The first authenticated official Sasanian text of the Khudhay-namak ('The Book of Kings') appeared under Khusrau Anushirvan I (531-79 AD) and the last version appeared during the reign of Yazdgerd III (632-51). Some of the translators concentrated on events connected with the Sasanians. The first of the Khodaynamas translated into Arabic was by Ibn al-Muqaffa'. This version and eight other versions have not survived. Firdausi derived his material from the redaction of the epic, made by order of Abu Mansur al-Ma'mun. He is likely to have started work on his version around 975-6 AD, completing it in 1010 AD. The story contains between 48,000 and 52,000 distichs in most versions, comprising fifty parts of varying lengths - divided according to ruler. The mythical heroes are represented as carrying out superhuman feats of strength in the struggle between good and evil which underpins the morality expressed in the Shahnama. They love, feast, hunt and fight, providing much meat for the miniature painter.<sup>56</sup>

I now propose to look at the textual passages dealing with lions and compare the iconography of the literary verses with the iconography of the miniatures illustrating these passages. How do the various illustrations compare? Does the miniature painter incorporate details

which show clearly which passages are illustrated, or are the paintings more general? How is the image of the lion used and what does it stand for - i.e. bravery, courage, ferocity or kingliness? I shall proceed in chronological order through the books of the Shahnama - using Warner's translation of the Persian text.

#### THE TEXT AND MINIATURE ILLUSTRATIONS

The lion is used as a symbol of bravery in "How Faridun made a Trial of his Sons".<sup>57</sup> Faridun himself changes into a dragon in order to test the bravery of his sons: One, thou wouldst say, no lion could escape - Which hissed and bellowed with its jaws aflame. As soon as he perceived his three sons near ...<sup>58</sup> the middle son is called 'Tur' - a 'lion brave'. His horoscope is given thus:

'Next came the horoscope of glorious Tur - The  
sun ascendant in the Lion's House - A presage  
brave ....'<sup>59</sup>

Other references are made to men given the attributes of lions. In "How Faridun made Answer to his Sons"<sup>60</sup> Shirwi is called 'lion-strong', while Minuchihr is referred to as 'an angry lion'.<sup>61</sup> Later it is stated that:

Around the palace were two lines of troops  
With golden maces and with golden helms.  
Before them there were leaders like karan,  
The son of Kawa, that experienced captain,  
And warriors - ravening lions like Shirwi...<sup>62</sup>

In "How Faridun sent Minuchihr to Fight Tur and Salim",<sup>63</sup> cavaliers are referred to as "all bold as angry lions":<sup>64</sup>

The host three hundred thousand cavaliers  
The men of name marched mailed, with marsine maces  
All bold as angry lions and all girded  
For vengeance for iraj....<sup>65</sup>

They are also referred to as 'lion-warriors'<sup>66</sup> In "How Minuchihr attacked the Host of Tur"<sup>67</sup> references to lions abound. A proclamation reads:

O men of name and Lions of the Shah!  
Gird up your loins, be vigilant and may  
The Almighty guard you. <sup>68</sup>

The prince himself is referred to as 'the lion-prince'. In "How

Rudaba took Counsel with her Damsels",<sup>69</sup> Minuchihr is characterised thus:

Of all the warriors-paladins of earth  
Not one can tread his steps; thus is no portrait  
Inside our halls with such a bridle-hand,  
or such another cavalier on horse-back.  
He is in heart a lion and in strength  
An elephant: his hands are like the Nile.  
....in battle like the baleful crocodile,  
On horseback like a dragon with sharp claws.  
He layeth in the fight the dust with blood  
And brandisheth his falchion of blue-steel...<sup>70</sup>

We can see therefore that 'lion' is an epithet applied to both warrior and ruler, typifying strength and bravery.

#### RUSTAM

An episode often illustrated in Shahnama manuscripts occurs in 'How Rakhsh fought with a Lion.'<sup>71</sup> Rustam himself is referred to as 'The Lion'

....no beast could 'scape  
From Rustam's lasso and his horse's foot  
The Lion with his royal lasso caught  
A gallant onager...<sup>72</sup>

Rustam is not only characterised as a good hunter - the lion -but is also described as catching an onager, an animal often shown as being hunted by lions. After eating the onager, Rustam turns Rakhsh loose:

He spied some pasture, slipped off Rakhsh's bridle  
Turned him out loos upon the meadow-land,  
And made himself a couch within a reed-bed;  
He deemed it safe though it was fear's own door,  
For in it was a lion's lair' no elephant  
Dared pluck a reed. One watch passed, then the lion  
Came boldly forth and was amazed to see  
Reposing with a charger standing by.  
"First", said the lion, "I must maim the steed,  
Then I can take the rider when I please."  
He sprang at glossy Rakhsh, who raged like fire  
And lashed out at the lion's head, then fixed  
His sharp teeth in its back and dashed the beast  
To pieces by a shift that made it shiftless.  
When Rustam, deft of hand, awoke and saw  
How earth was straitened to that ravening beast  
He said: 'O foolish Rakhsh! Who made thee fight  
A lion? hadst thou perished 'neath its claws  
Could I have carried to Mazandaran.  
My helmet, tiger-skin, bow, lasso, sword  
And marsine mace? had my sweet sleep been broken.'<sup>73</sup>

Rustam's attributes can be summed up as helmet, tiger-skin, bow, lasso, sword and mace. He is sleeping, with these around him. Rakhsh is biting the lion's backbone and dashing it to the ground. How do miniatures depict this scene?

There are wide variations in iconography between the miniatures dating from the late 14th to the late 17th century. Points of similarity include Rustam sleeping (Cat. 225, 245, 251, fig. 169, cat. 266, 270, 310, 351, 357, fig. 174, cat. 372). In at least two of the miniatures he is sleeping on the upper right. The scenes are set on plains. The horse attacks the lion, in all cases biting through its backbone. Details which differ, are the dress of Rustam: only three examples show him wearing the tiger-striped robe specified in the text. (Cat. 245, 351, 357, fig. 174) None of the illustrations suggest that he is lying in the reed bed mentioned in the text. His weapons vary from a bow and quiver (Cat. 270) or a sword (Cat. 310) to the full regalia of bow, quiver, sword and bull headed mace. (Cat. 225) The illustration most true to the text is the late 17th-century Mughal miniature in which Rustam sleeps wearing the tiger-striped costume and with all the attributes mentioned in the text. (Cat. 357, fig. 174) The 1628 AD miniature suggests a lion-infested area by showing two lions, whereas all the other miniatures only have one. (Cat. 351).

Both Rustam and Rakhsh are compared to lions in this part of the Shahnama. In "How Rustam went to the Chase"<sup>74</sup> we read:

One morn in dudgeon Rustan rose to hunt,  
Girt him, filled up his quiver, mounted Rakhsh,  
And hied him to the marches of Turan,<sup>75</sup>  
A savage lion prowling after prey....<sup>75</sup>

He is hunting onagers. Later in the same passage Rakhsh is also likened to a lion:

Some Turkman horsemen chanced upon the plain  
And marked the tracks of Rakhsh. These they pursued  
Beside the stream, observed him in the pasture,  
Surrounded him, and with their royal lassos  
Essayed to take him. Rakhsh perceiving this  
Raged like a mighty lion, lashing out  
he laid two Turkmans low and with his teeth

Tore off another's head....<sup>76</sup>

#### SIYAWUSH

In "How Siyawush played at Polo"<sup>77</sup> a polo match is described - Siyawush is referred to as slaughtering lions and is himself referred to as 'A prince, a lion of the prey....<sup>78</sup>

#### THE SEVEN STAGES OF ISFANDIYAR

These episodes occur in volume five.<sup>79</sup> Isfandiyar is described as:

The hero ( who) strung  
His bow and, roaring like a rending lion  
Rained arrows down upon those Ahrimans....<sup>80</sup>

The second stage of Isfandiyar's trials is entitled "How Isfandiyar slew two lions."<sup>81</sup> It opens thus:

O monarch crowned and leonine of heart!  
Upon the next stage lions will assail thee,  
Such as no crocodile could dare encounter,  
The lusty eagle, valiant though it be,  
Will not fly in their path.<sup>82</sup>

Isfandiyar replies: "Tomorrow thou shalt see a valiant man address the lion with the scimitar".<sup>83</sup> The saga continues:

He went his way, and drawing near the lions  
Turned all the world to darkness in their hearts.  
There were a lion and lioness,  
And bravely both came forth to fight with him,  
The lion first, he smote it with his sword,  
Its face grew coral-hued; 'twas cloven from head  
To midriff, which appalled the lioness,  
Yet, like her mate, she came on savagely.  
The chieftain smote her on the head, which fell  
And rolled upon the sand. Her paws and breast  
Were tulip-red with blood.<sup>84</sup>

Isfandiyar not only slays lions but also has the attributes of lions:

In "How Isfandiyar slew a Dragon", we read that:

Arising from the box, clutched his keen glaive  
With lion-like grip and hacked the dragon's brains  
Till fumes of venom rising from the dust  
O'er powered him....<sup>85</sup>

later a witch refers to him thus:

The might lion cometh to the toils  
With robe and lute and goblet filled with wine.<sup>86</sup>

She transforms herself into a beautiful maiden. Isfandiyar pretends to fall in love with her, then at the critical moment, he flings a steel chain around her neck:

....her strength was gone,  
She took a lion's form. The atheling  
Made at her with his scimitar, and said:  
"Thou wilt not injure me though thou hast  
reared  
An iron mountain. Take thy proper shape,  
For now the answer that I make to thee  
Is with the scimitar"  
Within the chain  
There was a fetid hag....<sup>87</sup>

Isfandiyar thus shows himself able to kill not only real lions but also demons in the form of lions.

#### BAHRAM GUR

One of the scenes often illustrated which shows a combat between lion and man is that of Bahram Gur seizing the crown from between two lions while his rival Khusrau looks on. The chapter in which the story is told is headed "How Bahram Gur harangued the Iranians as to his Fitness to rule, how they rejected him but promised him the kingship if he would take the crown from between two lions."<sup>88</sup> The nobles were advised by a wise man to choose a king with noble qualities:

None, whether he be prince by birth or subject,  
May shun the path of justice. Join with us,  
And choose a Shah that everyone will bless.<sup>89</sup>

A list of potential candidates was drawn up and gradually reduced to four with Bahram Gur at its head. Initially he had been rejected as 'too headstrong and self-willed, though brave'. Murzin handsomely supports Bahram Gur, rebuking criticism and pointing out his good qualities. Bahram himself suggests a way of settling the contest:

....Let us bring forth  
The imperial throne of ivory, and set  
The bright crowns over it, then let us bring  
Two savage lions of the wood and, placing  
The crown between them, chain them on each side.  
Then let the would-be Shah advance and take  
The famed crown from the throne of ivory,  
Place it upon his head and sit between  
The lions as the Shah, the crown above him,  
And under him the throne, for we will have

None else...."90

The nobles accept:

"This is the Grace  
Of God not craftiness or lack of wit!  
He speaketh naught but what is just, and justice  
Well may rejoice our hearts. For his proposal  
Well may rejoice our hearts. For his proposal  
About the savage lions with the throne,  
And royal crown between them; if they rend him  
The Judge will not require his blood of us;  
'Tis his own plan, and if he perisheth  
We are content, while if he shall achieve  
The crown he will have no other king.<sup>91</sup>

The contenders for the throne are thus whittled down to two candidates,

Bahram Gur and Khusrau. The spectacle is got ready.

Brave Gustaham  
Had two fierce lions which he gave in chains  
To the high priest. They dragged the savage beasts  
Along, the draggers seeming mad with fright,  
And to the footings of the ivory throne  
Chained them and set the crown within a nook  
Upon it. All the world - spectator there  
Of crown and throne - watched how the prince would  
Fare.<sup>92</sup>

Bahram Gur and Khusrau approached the lions, Khusrau suggests Bahram should try first as he is young while Khusrau is old and feeble.

Bahram replies:

...."Good, 'tis well.  
We will not blink fair words".  
With that he took  
An axe-head mace while the world wondered at him.  
An archimage said: "O wise and holy king!  
Who biddeth thee fight lions? Canst thou have  
More than the sovereignty...."93

The story continues

Thence came the wise Shah and at once set forth  
Upon his way, armed with the ox-head mace.  
Now when the valiant lions saw him coming,  
One, on the instant, snapped its chain and charged  
The exalted king. That hero smote its head,  
And dimmed its eyes, then going to the other  
Smote its head whence the blood ran down its  
Breast, then took his seat upon the ivory throne,  
Placed on his head the heart-delighting crown  
And put his trust in God who is our Refuge....<sup>94</sup>

This scene has often been illustrated, the miniatures representing the scene in different ways and with a variety of iconographic detail. The imagery of the text suggests that two lions, chained, were dragged

before an ivory throne upon which was placed a crown. One of the lions broke its chains and Bahram Gur hit it on the head with an ox-head mace which 'dimmed' its eyes. He then hit the other lion on the head causing blood to run down its breast, and took his place on the throne. Which of these iconographic elements are visible in the text and how are they portrayed? Do the miniature painters choose to illustrate the action at the same point in the story?

If we look at the lions which play an essential role in the iconography of this episode, we see wide variations. One miniature (Cat. 338) dated 1605, is a departure from orthodox iconography in that it shows Bahram Gur winning the crown from between four lions. In this case Bahram Gur is shown wearing a golden crown and tunic and trousers in grey. He holds a bull or ox-headed mace and four lions, a pair on each side snarl up at him. Spectators watch at a safe distance. The artist of this miniature has correctly given Bahram Gur an ox or bull-headed mace, but has not definitely identified Khusrau and has made Bahram's feat of bravery even more spectacular by doubling the number of lions. Bahram Gur holds the mace and snatches a blue and gold crown from the ground. He apparently manages to do this without striking any of the lions. Perhaps the lions are mesmerised by his daring?

Lions in the other miniatures are shown in various stages. All the other miniatures listed show two lions. In catalogue entries 292 and 322, fig. 171, one lion is alive while the other appears dead. In entries 262, 355, 373 and 376, both lions appear dead and in entries 224, 230, 240, 301 and 359, fig. 175, both lions seem to be alive. Postures vary, from both lions lying sprawled and bloody in number 355, to both lions chained and snarling up at Bahram in number 301. Sometimes the lions are chained and sometimes they are free.

Representations of the weapon used by Bahram Gur vary. In a miniature from Shiraz dated 1397, (224) Bahram Gur wears a gold helmet cap and blue skirt embroidered with gold, as he attacks the lions with a mace. This is a very active representation as Bahram is shown, with



his right foot placed on the lion's midriff as it snarls up at him as he prepares to club it. In a miniature also from Shiraz dated 1432-5 (Cat. 230) the lions are shown in an inactive posture huddled on the ground with the crown between them, while Bahram waves a wand with a golden scallop motif. In this miniature Khusrau is actually shown watching. In the majority of the miniatures looked at during the course of this thesis, he cannot be positively identified.

In Cat. 92 a Turkman miniature dated 1500-1501, illustrating the Khamisa of Nizami, Bahram Gur is shown enthroned, not on the ivory throne specified in the original episode from the Shahnama but seated instead on a gold and grey mat with a blue and red canopy overhead and richly dressed courtiers surrounding him; both lions are shown dead. Cat. No 301 also from the Khamisa of Nizami, dated 1529-30, has suggestions of architectural detail: he stands above a polygonal pavilion in the centre of the picture. He holds a gold crown set with precious gems and a white cockade in his right hand. The two lions, chained, snarl up at him. There have not been 'dubbed' by the ox-head mace, which is in itself nowhere in sight, yet Bahram Gur holds the famed crown.

Two miniatures are particularly faithful to the original text. A miniature from Kazvin dated to 1586 AD shows Bahram Gur wearing a gold crown reaching forward to club a lion on the head. The first lion strides, growling, chained to a post. (Cat. 322, fig.171) The second lion is also chained. Courtiers watch and a six-sided throne, high-backed, with a canopy of gold lined with blue, has a gold crown placed on the seat. The second miniature faithful to the text is a Punjabi miniature of 1719 AD, from India. (cat 359, fig. 175) In this miniature, both lions show traces of blood, the second lion displays evidence of chains binding it to the legs of the throne which is six-sided, topped by an umbrella dome. Bahram Gur uses a bull-headed mace to club the lions.

## BAHRAM GUR HUNTING LIONS

There are several other instances of Bahram Gur slaying lions in the Shahnama. "How Bahram slew lions and forbad Wine-Drinking"<sup>95</sup> describes how mounted on a speedy steed, he set forth with his hawk to a lion-inhabited wood:

....as verdurous as Paradise,  
And there was neither man nor beast in sight.  
He said "Here lions should be found. No man  
Of prudence would sleep here"  
He saw  
A lion there and that he must employ  
The scimitar. He shouted at the beast  
And when it bravely charged him, rode outside  
The forest, blazed forth like Azargashasp,  
And, when the lion followed, strung his bow,  
A hero he, shot and transfixed the creature  
Through side and heart; that of the lioness  
Came all aflame, and she too charged Bahram,  
Roared out and clawed at him. The cavalier  
Smote with his sword her lions, and that brave beast  
Gave up the fight."<sup>96</sup>

This is a very general account of a lion hunt and while it is not particularly important and it is impossible to determine whether it was specifically illustrated, the iconographic details are found in various miniatures of hunting scenes.

In "How Bahram slew Lions, went to the House of a Jeweller, and married his Daughter"<sup>97</sup> he again goes into a forest to slay lions.

"The Shah, on urging hence his steed Shabrang,  
Came on a forest and beheld before it  
Two savage lions, strung and drew his bow -  
The arrow, striking on the lions's breast,  
Was buried to the plumes. Forthwith Bahram  
Turned to the lioness and, shooting, pinned  
her breast and lions together, but exclaimed: -  
"The shaft was featherless, the point was blunt,  
If point there were"  
The escort praised him, saying"  
O famous king of earth! none ever saw,  
or will see, on the throne of King of Kings  
A Shah like thee, who with unfeathered arrows O'erth  
A mount of flint."<sup>98</sup>

In the verse entitled "How Bahram went to the Chase and slew Lions"<sup>99</sup>, Bahram Gur goes to Jaz to hunt:

....I must to jaz to hunt,  
And hold a hunting-bout upon that plain  
To make me a memorial in the world -  
Meanwhile the onager will grow plump-necked,

and compass lion's heart and tiger's strength."<sup>100</sup>

He takes hawks and falcons, dogs and cheetahs. The force of thirty thousand set off taking tents and pavilions with them to prepare the way for Bahram Gur:

....The Shah  
Came later with his(men) to the chase.  
He saw the plain well stocked with onager,  
The woods alive with lions, and thus said:-  
"Wine is our quarry tonight, for on the sand  
Are many lion-tracks, and we must have  
A lion-hunt tomorrow...."<sup>101</sup>

In the morning he meets and subdues a fierce lion:

A lion, lusty-grown with fattening  
On onagers, rushed forth, and brave Bahram  
Said to his friends: "Though I have bow and arrows,  
and mastery therewith, I will assail  
Yon lion with the scimitar that none  
May call me coward."  
Donning a shrunk vest  
Of wool, he mounted on his battle-steed.  
Now when that dragon of a lion saw him  
It reared, brought down its claws and sought to strike  
the charger on the head. The warrior heeled  
his steed and with his trenchant scimitar,  
What while the lioness made off a pace,  
Struck at the lion's head and (split) the beast  
Down to its middle, filling lions' hearts  
With fear; yet gallantly another one  
Came roaring, one whose mate was suckling cubs.  
He smote that lion's neck and parted head  
From trunk - one said to him: "O sun-faced Shah!  
hast thou not any mercy on thyself?  
The wood is full of lions and their young -  
Cubs that are sucklings. Let the lions be,  
For in the autumn time they breed. This forest  
Is three leagues deep, and if thou wert to spend  
A year in taking lions wouldst not clear it;  
So why impose such labour on thyself?  
The Shah, when first he sat upon the throne,  
Fought lions only as the compact was.  
now thou art Shah, the world is thine, so why  
Fight with them still? Thou cam'st for onager."<sup>102</sup>

In the following verse he continues his hunt of the lion and onager and a member of his entourage exclaims, after the Shah has killed a lion in masterly fashion:

"What swordmanship and might are here! Oh! May  
The evil eye ne'er look upon this Shah.  
He hast no semblance save the moaning heaven,  
Beneath him are the heads of this world's chiefs,  
While heaven is lower than his scimitar,  
And arrow-point."<sup>103</sup>

Numerous miniatures illustrate scenes such as described in the text.

For instance, a miniature from Khurasan dated around 1575 shows a man hunting a lion (Cat. 320) taken from a Shahnama manuscript. In it, a lion has been chopped in half, the halves widely separated with a red girdle around the break in both halves. Its mouth is open as it grimaces. The mane is indicated by a darker patch. The back paws appear to be running. A man is sitting on an armoured horse in the lower part of the picture. He carries a quiver and is shown running a sword through the head of a lion.

A Safavid miniature dated circa 1590 AD (Cat. 323, fig. 172) shows Bahram Gur hunting lions with a club. He is riding through a landscape of grey hills and blue-grey sky. Men on horses, carrying standards and wearing chain mail approach from the right and left. Bahram Gur himself, rides a white horse, he wears leg and arm plates and a metal helmet. he is striking a lion over the head with an ox-head mace. In the same manuscript Bahram Gur is shown hunting lions with a bow. (Cat. 324) Again the setting consists of a grey-blue sky, purple rolling hills and a green pasture. Men wearing golden armour ride horses, behind the hill on the right. Bahram Gur is shown in the foreground riding a large grey dappled horse with a blue saddle cloth. He wears a gold helmet and arm plates and has a bow and quiver. His arms are outstretched as he has just released an arrow. One lion lies on its back, paws waving in the air, struggling. Two arrows are embedded in its right shoulder, ringed in blood. A second lion lies on its stomach, mouth open snarling. The series continues with a miniature showing Bahram Gur hunting lions with a dagger. Bahram holds a dagger in his upraised right hand and is just about to pull a sword from its scabbard. The lion has leapt on the back of his horse and Bahram Gur clasps its head under his left arm. At the base of the picture another lion lies on its back, paws waving in the air, mouth open. It has been severed in half below its front paws (Cat. 326).

A Punjabi miniature (Cat. 361) of 1719 AD, shows a grassy pasture with blue fungal rocks. Bahram rides a white horse and wears a gem-

studded crown and green and gold robes. He is armed with a scabbard at his waist and a quiver. He swords a lion rearing towards his horse, slashing the lion along the side of his face. In the lower portion of the picture- a smaller lion runs full tilt at a standing figure with sword upheld. Four smaller lions follow, probably cubs.

There are numerous miniatures showing Bahram Gur hunting asses and lions such as a miniature from the Tarikh of Tabari (cat. 238) dated 1435-6, showing Bahram Gur riding a grey horse and approaching a lion which has seized a wild ass. In his right hand he carries a short stick, possibly with a blade at the bottom. In his left hand he carries a bow. Two men approach from the left on horseback, carrying spears. The lion is holding down a wild ass with its paw, biting it just below the neck. It is unaware of Bahram Gur's approach. A Timurid miniature taken from the Khamisa of Nizami, dated 1500-01, deals with the same subject. In this miniature, a brown lion, tail flailing has leapt on the back of a white ass. There is blood where its paws have touched the beast. Bahram transfixes the lion with an arrow (cat 291).

The lion is the royal animal par excellence and Bahram Gur is the archetypal ruler embodying virtues of justice and courage admired through the centuries; it is therefore fitting that he should be shown repeatedly hunting lions. Farrukhi of Sistan (d. 1037) states that "There were four things chosen for kings to do, feasting, polo, war and hunting."<sup>104</sup> Bahram Gur does all of these in supreme style. Mu'izzi (d.1126) compares a king to a lion. "You be a lion and all your enemies will be prey."<sup>105</sup> Patrons were commonly given the epithet shirshekar 'lion hunter' and compared with great hunters such as Bahram Gur.<sup>106</sup> Hunting and war have often been associated, demanding as they do, many of the same qualities. Farrukhi states of Mahmud:

Sometimes your sword raises dust from the enemy's head;  
Sometimes your arrows takes vengeance on the lion's breast.  
Alas for that enemy to whom in a battle you say "take this"!  
Alas for that lion to whom in the hunt you say "take that"!

On hunting day it matters not to you if it be a fox or a lion;  
In battle, it matters not to you if it be foot soldiers or  
horsemen.<sup>107</sup>

Farrukhi writes of an unnamed patron:

What you have accomplished in manliness in only a few years  
Rustam never achieved in many long years.  
if he brought down gazelles and wild asses on the hunting ground  
You brought down dangerous lions and lion-hunting wolves  
And if Rustam defeated an elephant in his youth,  
You have in proportion killed a thousand raging elephants."<sup>108</sup>

So, the episodes of Bahram Gur hunting in the Shahnama seem to show off his kingly qualities, even to go so far as to select him for this role through a trial involving courage in the face of the royal beast part excellence - the lion.

We must not neglect, however, the literary significance of the hunt to the text and also as a source of illustrative material for the miniaturist. The hunt serves as a trial of character through which each hero must go - Isfandiyar, Rustam, Bahram Gur and so on. It also, if one looks at the passages concerning Bahram Gur, serves to make a transition between episodes. For instance, "How Bahram went to the House of Lambak, the Water-carrier, and became his Guest,<sup>54</sup> starts with the phrase "It happened that Bahram Gur went one day with certain warriors to hunt the lion."<sup>110</sup>, then goes on to talk about virtuous Lambak and mean Baraham for the next three pages, ending the chapter with the words "Dust-swift he put the saddle on his steed, departed merrily and sought the chase. He hunted on till night the hills (be)gan (to) ride, then lightly from his (men) turned aside."<sup>111</sup> Chapter Eight "How Ruzbih, Bahram's High Priest, ruined a Village by a Stratagem and restored it"<sup>112</sup> also start with the words "The third day at the dawn the Shah went forth, he and his men, to hunt upon the plain;..."<sup>113</sup> Bahram Gur finding no game retreats to the nearest village and the story progresses on a different tack. There are numerous examples of chapters

opening with Bahram going on the hunt, then proceeding to a series of other events. It is not surprising therefore, that the miniaturist chooses at times to portray the exciting hunt rather than episodes which either lack drama or are not easily portrayed.

#### BAHRAM CHUBINA AND THE LION-APE

The shahnama has episodes involving mythical animals, the representations of which caused some problems for the miniature painter, the lion-ape is one such creature. Bahram Chubina's encounter with the lion-ape is described in "How the Lion-ape slew a Daughter of the Khan, how it was slain by Bahram Chubina and how the Khan gave him a Daughter and the Kingdom of Chin."<sup>14</sup> The lion-ape is described in the following words:

...a beast  
Out-bulking horses and upon its had  
Were two black locks like cables. It was tawny  
Of body while its ears and throat were black.  
None saw it save at noon-tide and it had  
Two claws resembling those of mighty lions  
It's roar rose o'er the clouds, it swallowed stones,  
And turned the day of mighty men to gloom.  
Folk called it "Lion-ape".<sup>15</sup>

The lion-ape spotted the Khan of Chin's daughter and 'gulped her down'.  
The Khan wants revenge and Bahram Chubina offers to fight the lion-ape.

....That grim monster came  
To gulp Bahram Chubina down. That hero  
Shot and the body of the lion-ape  
had fight enough. He shot again and smote  
The monster on the head; the blood poured down  
Like water o'er its breast. He marked the strength  
And onset of the monster, shot again,  
Transfixed its claw, then loosed his lasso, leapt  
Upon that lofty mountain-top and speared  
The creature's claws; the flints were dyed with blood,  
Then reached for his scimitar he (cut)  
The monster's form in (two), cut off its head,  
And flung it down contemptuously, descended,  
Came to the Khan, rejoicing, and proclaimed  
What had befallen the ape. The Khan and queen  
Set forward to the wood and made all haste  
To reach the mountain-top while acclamation,  
Such that thou wouldst have said: "The earth is  
rent" Rose from the warriors of Chin....<sup>16</sup>

We have two separate incidents described in this section. Firstly, the Khan of Chin's daughter is swallowed by the lion-ape described as a

creature larger than a horse with two black locks on its head, tawny body, black throat and lion-like claws. Secondly Bahram Chubina is called on to kill this monster, which he does with some difficulty. how are these incidents illustrated in texts?

A Turkman-Timurid miniature of 1486 AD (Cat. 267, fig. 170), shows Bahram Chubina killing the lion-ape. The lion-ape has a lion's colouring, dark brown with a light underbelly and a lion's tail tipped by a dark brush. It has rounded ears, an elongated snout, red tongue and white fangs. The lion-ape has been hit by three arrows, one lodges in its head and two in its shoulders. Bahram Chubina rides a horse and holds a bow with a quiver of arrows at his waist.

A Safavid miniature of 1612 shows the daughter of the Khaqan of Chin about to be attacked by a lion-ape (Cat. 340). The action takes place in a country setting. The khaqan of Chin is seated with his daughter who is pouring him a drink. Female courtiers and musicians are seated around. The lion-ape approaches down the fold of a mountain from the left. it is fawn-coloured, with an open, growling mouth, rounded ears and a dark mane. His haunches and back are visible. The impression given is of a beast approaching quietly with cunning, unseen by anyone.

A Punjabi miniature of 1719 (Cat. 362, fig. 176) shows men and women carrying flasks and musical instruments at the bottom of the picture. Just below some mountains, at the top of the picture, there is a dragon like creature with spiralling tail, golden wings, a yellow body spotted with gold, white underbelly, golden wings on its legs and four clawed feet. it has flaming red eyebrows, a long open mouth lined in red and large teeth. It is swallowing the girl, her head and flailing arms just visible. The khaqan of Chin wearing a crown gesticulates in the background. The same manuscript illustrates Bahram Chubina killing the lion-ape. Green hills are inhabited by men wearing chain mail and helmets, wielding swords, pikes and shields. On the right, Bahram Chubina armed with a quiver, sword and shield, is



swording the dragon cum lion-ape. The monster is gold in colour with open mouth roaring gold and red flames. Its head and forequarters only are visible. The rest of the animal is submerged in muddy water. It has a bloody head, arrows stuck into its eyes and near its ears (cat. 363).

These manuscripts illustrate confusion on the part of the miniature painter as far as portraying the lion-ape. Is it a lion or a dragon? The Turkman-Timurid miniature has opted for the lion as has the Safavid miniature painter, while the Punjabi painter has come up with a truly fantastic beast, most impressive in its ferociousness as it bellows yellow and red flames, but with no resemblance whatever to a lion. The miniatures discussed, as well as interpreting the description of the lion-ape in a variety of ways, also choose to illustrate the story at different points respectively, the lion-ape approaching the girl, the lion-ape actually swallowing the daughter and the lion-ape being killed. The settings in all the examples are pastoral, however in the Punjabi manuscript the beast is seen as very threatening indeed as evidenced by the number of heavily protected soldiers visible in the picture.

#### KHUSRAU AND SHIRIN

The story of Khusrau and Shirin commences after the prelude with a verse titled "How Khusrau Parviz loved Shirin, how they parted, how he met her again while hunting and sent her to his Bower."<sup>117</sup> Preparations for a hunt are described thus:

It was so that one day he willed to hunt,  
And all things were prepared as in the times  
of former Shahs. They took three hundred steeds,  
Caparisoned with gold, for that famed king,  
While of his loyal suitors there fared  
Afoot a thousand and eight score, and carried  
Two-headed darts. A thousand and two score  
Bore scimitars and wore brocade above  
Their coats of mail. Seven hundred falconers  
Came next with royal falcons, sparrow-hawks,  
And gosh-hawks, while behind them mounted men -  
Three hundred keepers of the cheetahs - fared,  
And pards and lions chained three score and ten,

All harnessed with brocade of Chin, all trained  
And furnished with gold muzzles. <sup>118</sup>

Shirin greet Khusrau Parviz in the following words "O Shah! Great Lion!  
O framed to be leader of the host! O blessed hero, lion-conqueror!"<sup>119</sup>  
In "Discourse on the Splendour and Greatness of Khusrau Parviz" <sup>120</sup>  
khusrau is described in the most fulsome of terms, "there was no king  
like him. The winged eagle, royal falcon, hawk, pard, lion and stream-  
hunting crocodile Submitted to him willingly."<sup>121</sup> None of the Shahnama  
manuscripts I looked at, showed a figure definitely identified as  
Khusrau Parviz hunting with Shirin, in spite of the very full  
description of preparations for the hunt.

The khamisa of Nizami included episodes from the Shahnama,  
however, loosely based on the Shahnama the story is embroidered by  
Nizami (d. 1203) in Khusrau u Shirin. An episode which includes a  
fight with a lion features frequently in miniature painting. A Persian  
miniature of 1410 shows Khusrau fighting with a lion in a pastoral  
landscape. There are trees and a tented pavilion from which figures  
peer. A stream with a coloured pebble border runs throughout the  
scene. The lion straddles the stream with one attendant on each side,  
the left one gestures and the right one holds a sword. Khusrau grasps  
the lion by the ruff. his other arm is bent and the fist clenched but  
no weapon is visible. The lion is splayed, growling (Cat. 228. fig.  
168). The same scene is shown in a Persian miniature of 1435-6 (Cat.  
232). The setting consists of royal blue sky with gold Chinese clouds  
and fawn coloured hills bordered with mauve. In the right corner is a  
sun corolla with a human face at the centre. Shirin is seated on a  
cushion. Khusrau grasps the lion by the back of its neck with his left  
hand, his right hand is clenched by empty. There do not seem to be any  
weapons. The lion itself is brown with an open mouth, white fangs and  
red tongue.

In a Timurid miniature dated 1481-82 (Cat. 263) Khusrau thrusts  
his fist at a lion which is attacking Shirin's tent. In the foreground

a man, sword raised, is ready to slash at the lion, whilst the other man grasps the lion by the back of the neck. He holds no weapon in his clenched fist - this man must be Khusrau. The lion is snarling, standing on his hind legs, tail thrashing. Another man, in the margin of the page, has a raised club ready to use on the lion.

Other miniatures display much the same iconography. For instance (Cat. 313) a Persian miniature circa 1550, has a setting consisting of gold gilt sky, green grass, sprinkled richly with foliage and flowers and a black stream running through. In this miniature a gold domed pavilion replaces the tent. Shirin is seated on a carpet in front of the pavilion. Various courtiers are scattered about. Khusrau, his right arm drawn back, grasps the lion by the neck, with his left hand. The lion is open mouthed, striding, back right leg kicking out. He looks up from a lowered head at Khusrau, his tail upwards.

This episode is an example of a theme taken from the Shahnama and extended. The central event, Khusrau attacking the lion which has invaded his and Shirin's tent is fairly constant. He grasps the lion by the scruff of the neck, other fist clenched. In most cases no weapons are visible. The Timurid miniature is the only exception to this in that other armed men seem to be taking an active part. The setting is always pastoral, often at night, tents, grassy plains and streams are constant iconographic details. The act of overpowering the lion without weapons prove Khusrau's bravery and outstanding abilities. The hero figure proving himself before a trial of a lion with other people as witnesses remains a constant theme.

This would be perhaps a fitting point to discuss another work included in Nizami's Khamasa, episodes of which are frequently illustrated with lions, namely the love poem Layla and Majnun. One of the episodes in this love poem in which lions are shown, is that of Majnun in the desert. Majnun went into the desert and took the animals as his companion.<sup>122</sup> The animals watched over and protected him:

At last a lion began to keep watch over Majnun, like a dog guarding a flock. Other animals followed, a stag, a wolf, a desert fox. Every day there were more of them. If Majnun rested the place soon looked like an animal camp. He became a King among his court, like Solomon....<sup>123</sup>

Numerous miniatures illustrate this scene. Typically they show animals of various species lying or sitting at ease, clustered around Majnun. Animals which would normally prey upon one another commune in harmony. A miniature executed in 1435-6 AD, serves as a representative example of this theme. (Cat. 237) The number includes donkeys, asses, birds and a lion. Another miniature from the same manuscript shows majnun caressing a black hound surrounded by animals including a hyena, hare and a lion. (Cat. 233) Majnun is visited by various people while in the desert, including his father and Layla - the animals form a leitmotif of his sojourn.

#### CONCLUSION

It has become evident that confrontations with the lion - the King of the beasts - the royal animal par excellence - is the mark of the hero and a test of manhood. We can see this in the trials of Isfandiyar in which killing two lions is the second trial. The other six being, killing two wolves, killing a dragon, killing a witch, killing a simurgh, passing through a blizzard and crossing a river and killing a guide. Rustam's trials also involve lions, but it is his horse that performs the actual killing. Bahram Gur - that hero of heroes - wins his crown from between two lions, taking his well-earned place on the throne. He is renowned for going on lion hunts. Bahram Chubina slays a monster - the lion-ape which is frequently depicted as more lion than dragon.

Lion hunts in general are described at intervals throughout the Shahnama and provide a fruitful source of imagery for the miniature painter - a sort of stock image to plug in at dull moments, a

repetitive image requiring little work. Other images such as Isfandiyar killing two lions; Rakhsh killing the lion or Bahram Gur snatching the crown from two lions require a little more thought.

Has the miniaturist paid attention to the details of these events supplied by the text? Does there seem to be a standardised iconography or do different manuscripts differ in their illustrations? If the iconography differs does the illustration contain enough visual clues for the reader to be able to identify the passage being illustrated? Let us first look at miniatures illustrating the episode in which Rakhsh slays the lion, we see that Rakhsh attacks the lion in the same way in most of the miniatures, biting through the lion's backbone (Cats. 245,251, fig. 169, cats. 266,270, and 310). The miniatures range in date from the earliest discussed of the late 14th century, to the most recent dated to the late 17th century. In only one of the miniatures does this portion of the iconography differ - (Cat. 251, fig. 169) a miniature circa 1450 of the Herat school shows Rakhsh holding a leg up to impede the lion's progress, so depicts moment somewhat in advance of the lion actually being killed. The Warner recension of the text is very clear that Rakhsh does indeed sink his teeth into the back of the lion. Variations in the miniatures occur with the depiction of Rustam, given the attributes in the text of helmet, tiger-skin, bow, lasso, sword and mace, sleeping in a reed bed amid a lion infested meadow. Only two examples show him wearing the tiger striped robe, none of the examples suggest that he is lying in a reed bed and his weapons range from a bow and quiver or a sword to the full regalia of bow, quiver, sword and bull-headed mace.

One would gather then, that the central event of this episode is Rakhsh killing the lion - as this is, on the whole, faithfully rendered in relation to the text - Rustam seems to be an accessory, tucked safely away, asleep, his identity confirmed not by his own attributes necessarily but by the presence of his horse and a lion or in one case, lions. So the miniature painter is not governed absolutely by the

text, but only follows the general outlines of the most important event.

How does the miniature painter depict Isfandiyar killing the lion and lioness – the second of his trials? In two cases he is shown in the process of swording a lion. In the 1437 miniature one lion has been slashed from head to midriff thereby following the description in the text. (Cat. 239). The 1575 and 1719 miniatures show lions cut in half through the mid-sections contrary to the description in the text. (Cat. 320 and 358). In the Punjabi manuscript the lion and tiger seem to have become a composite animal. In all the examples it is not easy to differentiate between the lion and lioness, if indeed the animals are differentiated. iconographic details differ between the miniatures and the text, yet conform in the main, in that there are two lions present in the examples and they are being killed with a sword by Isfandiyar as mentioned in the text.

One of the most frequently illustrated episodes in the Shahnama is that of Bahram Gur seizing the crown from between two lions. The imagery of the text suggests that two lion, chained, were dragged before an ivory throne upon which nested the crown. One of the lions broke its chains and Bahram Gur smote it on the head with an ox-head mace. He then smote the other lion on the head and took his place on the throne. The miniatures portraying this event differ considerably in iconographic detail and the point in the story which they chose to illustrate.

We see wide variations in detail. Catalogue entry 338 dated 1605, for example, shows four lions not two. Bahram wears a crown and snatches another crown from the ground. The lions watch apparently mesmerized – there is nothing to indicate that he has actually struck them. Lions in other miniatures appear in various poses, entries 292 and 322, fig. 171 show one lion alive while the other is dead. In entries 355, 373 and 376, both lions appear dead while in entries 224, 230, 240, 301 and 359 (fig. 175) both lions seem to be alive.

Sometimes the lions are chained and sometimes the lions are free. Representations of Bahram Gur's weapon varies. Sometimes he wears a crown and sometimes not. Bahram Gur is very rarely shown enthroned, catalogue number 292 is one of the rare miniatures in which he is shown enthroned, seated not on an ivory throne, but on a gold and grey mat with a blue and red canopy overhead.

Two miniatures appear relatively faithful to the text. A miniature from kazvin dated 1586, has Bahram Gur wearing a gold crown, reaching forward to club a lion on the head. (Cat. 322, fig. 171) The first lion strides, chained to a post. The second lion is also chained. A six-sided throne, high-backed with a canopy has a gold crown on the seat. The other miniature faithful to the text is a Punjabi miniature of 1719. In this miniature both lions show traces of blood, the second lion seems to have marks where chains have bound it to the legs of the throne. The throne itself is six-sided topped by an umbrella dome and Bahram Gur uses a bull-headed mace to smite the lions (Cat. 359, fig. 175)

The tremendous variety of iconographic detail found in miniatures depicting this scene is striking, yet elements do normally enable one to identify the event taking place. Miniature painters portray different moments in the action, or seem to telescope events into a narrowed time frame than that of the text. The differences are so startling that one wonders whether there were different recensions of the text rather than merely interpretations of a standard text.

Marianne Shreve Simpson in her PhD thesis entitled The Illustrations of an Epic. The Earliest Shahnama Manuscripts<sup>124</sup> analyses the so-called 'small' Shahnamas. She considers the similarities and differences between the contents of the illustrations of the manuscripts and the correspondence of the illustrations to the text with the stories.<sup>125</sup> She has determined that the small Shahnamas do not contain the same illustrations, but each manuscript has its own individual series of illustrations and that even with duplicated

images, occasionally occurring, none of the miniature cycles in the manuscripts could be considered to be a copy of any of the others.<sup>126</sup> Simpson analyses the Bahram Gur cycle in the manuscripts determining that in the first Shahnama there are seventeen to eighteen pages with eleven illustrations, whilst the Freer Shahnama has sixteen or seventeen pages with eight illustrations of which only four are extant. She concludes that "Cycles, episodes, moments: an examination of these story-telling units illustrated in the three small Shahnamas leads us to one definite conclusion. The illustrative content of the manuscripts is not identical, not even in the physically similar first and second Shahnamas."<sup>127</sup>

As regards placement of the miniatures apparently technical analysis has revealed that the text was copied first while blank spaces were left for the miniatures.<sup>128</sup> In fact one does come across unfinished manuscripts in which there are still blank spaces for the miniatures. Simpson considers the role of the text and concludes that the formation of individual images depended greatly on the verses surrounding each picture space: "Quite simply, the text dictated the iconography of the miniatures. With few exceptions, all the small Shahnama miniatures are iconographically faithful to their relevant verses in terms of the major personages, their actions and settings in which they act."<sup>129</sup> The role of the artist is analysed in detail concluding that there was a core repertoire of designs used for the illustrations with elements added or subtracted as necessary,<sup>130</sup> concluding that:

the deletion of such minor descriptive motifs referred to in the text typifies the latitude and discretion which the small shahmana artists obviously were free to exercise in the formation of their images. Although not always guided by the narrative, the artists were not just mechanical transposers of epic verses into pictorial signs. Instead, through the constant variation of shared compositions, figures and motifs, they managed to create a large number of distinctive miniatures that are always compact, concise and legible and often lively and imaginative, both as illustrations and as pictures.<sup>131</sup>



We have seen that there are wide variations between illustrations of the same episodes in different manuscripts of the Shahnama yet that iconographic elements are included to identify for the reader, the passage being illustrated. One would have to read and analyse all the Shahnama manuscripts discussed in the way that Simpson has done with the 'small Shahnamas' to determine how much influence different recensions of the text have had on the miniature painter. In an article entitled "The Shahnamah and the Persian miniaturist." <sup>132</sup> Marcia Maguire considers just this point, stating that; "The close relation between the miniature and the text - with the resulting dependence of the miniature on the text - raises the problem of textual differences in the Shahnamah. Such textual differences although often minor, can result in substantially different versions of a given tale, or even the complete omission of certain tales from the current versions of the Shahnamah".<sup>133</sup> The analysis of episodes containing lion in the Shahnama's addressed during the course of this thesis have led me to agree with Maguire's conclusion pro-tem that there was not a standard version of the Shahnama stories<sup>134</sup> that detailed analysis of the text versus illustrations is likely to reveal this; yet at the same time, amid the variations, enough iconographic elements pertinent to the stories were included, to allow the viewer to identify the scene.

## CHAPTER FIVE

In this chapter we will look at the use of the lion as a decorative motif in contexts not so far discussed in this thesis. The lion is found as a device on coins where it is sometimes used as an astrological image, at other times as a single emblem. The lion is used as a decorative motif associated with royal furniture, such as thrones. It also occurs on domestic furniture and fittings such as water faucets, bathscrapers and aquamaniles. The lion is often used in public architecture, for example, on mosques, medreses, bridges, hans and fortresses in Anatolia and in cemeteries in Iran. Other motifs such as the lion and tree are often found in repeat patterns in textiles, possibly also having a funerary association.

### Coins

Islamic coins sometimes display astrological imagery. For instance a coin struck for the Artuqid ruler Arslan (1184-1200 AD) has a helmeted cross-legged seated figure holding a sword behind his head in one hand and bearing a decapitated head in his left hand.<sup>1</sup> The lion and the sun appear on numerous coins issued during the reign of Kai Khusrau II (1236-46 AD). The coins show the lion and the sun, sometimes with the addition of stars. In the first four years of his reign he seems to have been satisfied with orthodox epigraphic decoration, then in 1239 AD, comes the switch to figural imagery, perhaps linked to Persian influence at court. This period was cut short by the Mongol victory near Arzinjan in 1243 AD, whereupon coinage reverted to a severely inscriptional type in a square surround.<sup>2</sup>

The lion and sun imagery could be a manifestation of an intense interest in astrology during his reign; similarly, metalwork with astrological symbols was in vogue in the 13th century. Kai Khusrau may also have been motivated by love, as the lion surmounted by the sun was said to be the horoscope of his Georgian wife. He wanted to put her

image on coins, but this was deemed unsuitable and he was persuaded to use her horoscope, or so Abu'l-Faraj records.<sup>3</sup>

Lowick in his article "The Religious, The Royal and the Popular in the Figural Coinage of the Jazira"<sup>4</sup> states that astrological motifs do not appear in the Jazira until the last two decades of the 12th century and are contemporary with representations of the ruler enthroned or on horseback. These images remained popular in the 13th and 14th centuries, especially on the coinage of Mardin and Irbil. He postulates that the image of the man riding a lion may represent Mars in the constellation of Leo (fig. 241). He makes the suggestion that the choice of zodiac motifs might be indicative of the configuration of the heavens at the time the coins were struck, but that it is more likely that:

"... these motifs formed part of a popular near eastern cultural stock with which even the least educated would have been familiar. The designs being neutral in religious terms, could be expected to win acceptance from all who handled the coins, whether Christians, Muslims, Jews or adherents of any other faith."<sup>5</sup>

I would have to take issue with these conclusions in the light of inscriptions associating the sun and the lion with princely power, and the use of the lion and sun motifs along with other astrological motifs on luxury goods. Coins in many cultures have been emblems of the ruler emphasising power in some way. Would such a significant medium as coinage bear motifs chosen because they were neutral? By the end of the 13th century astrological signs such as the lion and sun commuted to a simple sun-face on some coins were the only pictorial types used in the Near East with the exception of Syria. In Syria contact with the Crusaders had led to an interest in heraldic images for coins. These coins were produced at mints not previously involved in the production of figural coinage.<sup>6</sup> Brown in her article "Some Reflections on the Figured Coinage of the Artugids and Zengids"<sup>7</sup> discusses this

issue. The Artuqids and Zengids in northern Syria and Mesopotamia for a period of approximately one hundred years from the mid-twelfth to the mid-13th century issued large copper coins bearing Arabic inscriptions on one side and figures on the other, sometimes copied from Sasanian, Greek, Seleucid, Roman and Byzantine coins, but also bearing images derived from elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

It had previously been thought that figure types were introduced to ease trade with neighbouring Christian states; however as Brown points out it is a numismatic truism to say that copper, in contrast to gold and silver, does not tend to be found at a distance from its place of issue in the course of trade. If trade with the bordering Christian states had been a major preoccupation in the design of coinage, then surely one would expect to find figured type silver and gold coinage, yet coins in these metals are rigorously orthodox in style.<sup>9</sup>

Lowick enters the argument suggesting that the imagery on Turkoman-type figured coins becomes easier to understand if one views them as a species of bronze artefact rather than merely less valuable counterparts to the gold dinar and silver dirham. He suggests that they should be included among examples of a style labelled "Composite". This term has been applied to coins deriving themes from a range of cultural sources (Classical, Byzantine, Sasanian and Islamic). Lowick further points out that copper coins in Islam have generally been less affected by the taboo against images than gold and silver coins. Furthermore the profession of faith in God is not generally found on Turkoman copper coins, which more usually carry the name of the issuing prince along with that of his overlord coupled occasionally with the name of the Abbasid Caliph plus the name of the mint and the date. Lowick concludes his argument by stating that if dinars and the rare silver dirhams are the political manifestos of rulers who saw themselves as ghazi's on behalf of orthodox Islam, then there is a strong case for viewing the coppers as coins intended to be exchanged among people of different races and religions.<sup>10</sup>

In searching for possible antecedents of the designs found on these coins, Brown states that the figured coinage may be 'an innovation for its own sake', in an area and among dynasties open to foreign influences and prone to decorate their buildings, at any rate, with figural elements.<sup>11</sup> If, as Brown and Lowick suggest, copper coins were not used for trade further afield and were not of much monetary value, it is perhaps an example of 'catholic' taste to embellish them with whimsical figural and animal designs, rather than the rigidly orthodox designs of coins of greater value. If this is so, then, in my view, this would weaken the case for the astrological designs being a reflection of princely power.

Other coins bearing lions are the coins of the Mamluks. Baybars had consolidated his position by 1259 AD and new designs were established for gold and silver coinage. These included Baybars' title of Sultan and his adopted symbol of a lion passant to the left. At the same time Baybars also had coins of the epigraphic square in circle type and a coin with the lion reverse, apparently similar to contemporary coins of Hetoum-Zabel of Cilician Armenia.<sup>12</sup> In the Mamluk period the five official Mamluk mints (Cairo, Alexandria, Tripoli, Aleppo and Hamah) each became associated with certain symbols. Whereas in Artuqid coins animal imagery only appears on copper issues, the heraldic lion of Baybars appears on gold, silver and copper coins.<sup>13</sup>

The lion is of course a heraldic image of Baybars, in the way that the lion and sun was not in the Artuqid period. The lion as blazon of Baybars I (1260-77) appears on all his coins and buildings: castles, fortifications, khans, bridges and other structures in Anatolia, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria.<sup>14</sup> Baraka Khan his son (1277-79) also adopted the lion blazon, as did officials at the court.<sup>15</sup> The lions of Baybars seem to have been influenced in style by the Seljuq images of lions in Anatolia.<sup>16</sup> The lion was, of course, much later, adopted by Fath Ali Shah (1797-1855) as the emblem of Iran and continued to be used on coins through to the 20th century (fig. 242).

## Lion Masks

An image with universal appeal through a span of thousands of years and in many lands is that of the lion mask - a lion's head holding a ring in its mouth. This motif is found on vessels, door handles and coffins. The oldest extant example of a lion-mask door handle was found at Olynthus (destroyed 348 BC). A bronze lion head surrounded by tufts of hair holds a heavy ring in its mouth. On stylistic grounds it has been dated to the fifth century BC.<sup>17</sup>

In the Roman period, strigillated sarcophagi datable to the late second and early third century bear lion masks. These coffins are vat-shaped with curved ends frequently bearing lion masks with rings in their jaws. During the third century the lion masks at the curved ends were replaced by scenes of a lion slaughtering another animal, for instance, a boar, antelope, goat, horse or stag<sup>18</sup>. A coffin in the Museo Torlonia shows an arena lion and its keeper standing over an antelope. A sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino bears a large lion mask near each end which shows a lion hunt in progress. These images have been interpreted as allegories of the victory of the soul over death.<sup>19</sup> Lead sarcophagi were produced in Syria and Palestine occasionally bearing lion mask handles executed in relief.<sup>20</sup> Kurz points out that wooden sarcophagi with metal fittings were manufactured in Roman Palestine and Syria and that a large number of the ancient lion-heads with rings come from this area. A group of lion masks apparently decorated the ships of Caligula on Lake Nemi. One of these had a naturalistic lion face with round staring eyes and a large ring gripped by pointed fangs. The head is surrounded by tufts of flame-like hair.<sup>21</sup>

Throughout the Middle Ages, lion heads decorated church doors on churches as far apart as Charlemagne's Palatine chapel in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)<sup>22</sup> and Durham Cathedral<sup>23</sup>. There are therefore

examples of this kind of imagery in both the east and the west, continuing in one form or another throughout the Middle Ages. During the Middle Ages the lion became a symbol of the Resurrection. Apparently this symbolism derived from descriptions in the standard bestiary based on the Physiologus as follows:

"the third feature is this, that when a lioness gives birth to her cubs, she brings them forth dead and lays them up lifeless, for three days - until their father, coming on the third day, breathes on their faces and makes them alive. Just so did the Father Omnipotent raise our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead on the third day. Quotes Jacob 'He shall sleep like a lion and the lion's whelp shall be raised'." <sup>24</sup>

The lion mask embodies the idea of sanctuary and Christ's protection, making it a suitable ornament for church doors, the entrance to sanctuary. <sup>25</sup>

There are some examples of lion masks in Islamic countries. In Hamdis describing the palace of Bougie in Algeria circa the late-11th early-12th century writes: "Lions bite the rings of the door knockers". <sup>26</sup> Use of the motif in the eastern reaches of the Islamic world is shown by a miniature from the Istanbul manuscript of Rashid al-Din's History of the World <sup>27</sup>. The scene shows three men on horses riding up to a fortified doorway topped by ramparts from which other men peer at the riders. The doorway itself has a pointed arch and the door is in two sections. In the middle of each part is a lion mask with a ring gripped between its teeth. Other examples of similar motifs include a bronze padlock in feline shape with scrolls on its flanks datable to the late 11th or early 12th century and attributed to Khurasan (Cat. 102, fig.81). Kühnel attributes a door knocker with two dragons facing away from each other with a lion's head between them, to Mesopotamia and dates it to the 12th century (Cat. 122, fig. 98). A lion head decorates a tethering ring datable to the 12th or 13th century, possibly from Iran (Cat. 146). Lion masks are frequently found on the corbels and gutters of Seljuq mosques, medreses and hans of the

13th century in Anatolia<sup>28</sup>. The lion masks are carved in a stylized almost caricature-like manner. The head is prominent, protruding from the wall which cuts the animal off at the neck. Generally the heads are rather square with almond-shaped eyes and eyebrows continuing the line of the rather large, flat nose. The carvings in the corbels have small closed mouths. The carvings in the gutters have mouths open in big holes. The lion masks found on gutters are, it is suggested, related to the ritual of washing before prayers. It is believed in Anatolia that washing with and drinking water from 'the lion's mouth' is beneficial<sup>29</sup>.

Other related examples of the lion used as a handle are found on jugs and mortars. An Iranian jug datable from between the eighth and 10th centuries, has a handle on top described as a lion's head. It is very abstract and stylized in form. The head is long and thin with eyes and pricked-up ears (Cat.89, fig. 72). A small mortar of the ninth or 10th centuries, also in bronze bears a lion's head in high relief on one side, opposite a handle with a small hole (Cat.90, fig. 73). An isolated fragment which may once have formed a handle consists of a rampant lion of bronze with tail curled round. A few lines engraved on the back of the neck indicate the mane. This fragment is datable to the ninth to 11th centuries and attributed to Egypt (Cat.93, fig. 75). A mortar from Iran datable to the 11th-to-12th centuries, is decorated with a lug and free-moving ring attached at one side. The lug is in the shape of a lion's head. Each side except that of the lug has three teardrop-shaped bosses in high relief. The round base has traces of Kufic inscription (Cat. 104, fig. 83). A cylindrical mortar possibly from western Iran dating to the late 12th or early 13th century has a low slanting base (Cat.140, fig.113). It has three facets and a ring handle. The front facet bears an engraved lion mask. This example has a Kufic inscription wishing 'good fortune'. Another mortar also attributed to western Iran and datable to the 13th century has a low slanting base supporting an octagonal section (Cat. 154, fig.



125). The decoration consists of scroll work and lotus buds and an inscription repeats a series of letters. A lion head holds the ring. A mortar of brass engraved and inlaid, datable to the same time and region, has an octagonal base and ring handle, the front of which is moulded as a feline mask (Cat. 155, fig. 126). The mask has triangular eyes and flared eyebrows. The inscription wishes 'luck, good fortune' and so on. Of a different kind is a silver ewer datable to the 13th century which bears relief decoration of foliate motifs and animal designs. A lion forms the thumb stop on the handle (Cat. 159).

A majority of the images described, occur on mortars datable to the 12th and 13th centuries and made in Persia. We also see examples of the lion being used as handles on other sorts of vessels also datable to a fairly early period. Several of the mortars bear good luck messages. It is not clear however why the lion masks appear on these sort of vessels. The images are rather abstract in form. Kurz seems to attribute the abstracting of the form to its use in the minor arts:

"While lion handles were used freely on doors, there was a certain reluctance to put them on vessels and implements. The king of the beasts was an appropriate guardian of a monumental building, but his use on a minor object seems incongruous."<sup>30</sup>

Apart from the slight literary evidence already quoted, I have not come across any references to the use of lion handles in an Islamic context. Parviz Tanavoli in his book Lion Rugs<sup>31</sup> shows a steel padlock in the shape of a lion which he dates to the 15th to 16th centuries and also a possibly pre-Islamic padlock datable to the sixth or seventh centuries, showing a rather naturalistic lion. He describes the lion as a protective image (as one would have surmised) and states that these locks secured doors and chests. He states that many of the front doors in Iran still have knockers in the form of a lion and furthermore, emphasising the protective function of the lion, that

stone lions are placed beside doorways in some regions of Iran.<sup>32</sup>

Possible influences from China as well as the West may account for the use of lion masks as handles. Animal masks with rings function in ancient Chinese art as vessel handles, door handles and for the decoration of coffins.<sup>33</sup> Late Hellenistic lions holding rings and datable to the first century AD, have been excavated at Begram in Afghanistan, along with Chinese lacquer and Indian ivories.<sup>34</sup> Examples of animal masks with rings used in decorating tombs, have also been discovered at Abakan in Russia, apparently taken there by the Chinese.<sup>35</sup>

### Lion and throne imagery

Islamic dwellings are traditionally furnished with cushions, textiles and carpets rather than wooden furniture. Thrones illustrated in paintings or from very rare surviving examples, seem to consist of cushioned platforms with canopies, rather than the high-backed chair associated with the throne in the West. Numerous miniatures catalogued as enthronement scenes, turn out to show cushioned platforms or (even more portable), carpets laid out with cushions and bolsters. Lion and throne imagery is thus, not as prevalent as in the West. One can extrapolate, however, from examples represented on pottery and metalwork, that the lion and throne were linked together as royal images. The theme of throne furniture has been addressed in A Survey of Persian Art.<sup>36</sup> A carved polychrome plate of Syrian lakabi ware, datable to the 11th or 12th centuries, shows a figure sitting on a platform flanked by two attendants. Beneath the platform are two confronted creatures half hyena-half Foo dog. This is one of the earliest extant examples of the use of the throne and animals as a decorative motif in Islamic art.<sup>37</sup>

One of the most famous examples of throne imagery is the scene decorating the Saint Louis basin (Cat. 168, fig. 135). The rim of the

basin is decorated by forty-four quadrupeds in procession. These consist of real and imaginary animals including unicorns, leopards, foxes, wild boars, griffins and lions chasing elephants, gazelles, deer, hares, sphinxes and camels. Four medallions contain riders. Two spear a dragon or bear, one spears a lion, the other holds a polo-stick. Medallions decorate the interior one of which shows an enthronement scene. The ruler is seated cross-legged, holding a cup and flanked by two attendants. Two lions sit beneath the throne, heads bowed, facing away from each other. Panels between the medallions show scenes of the hunt. This basin has been dated circa 1290-1310 AD.<sup>38</sup>

A brass bowl inlaid with silver and gold in the British Museum collection and datable to the late 14th century, is decorated with medallions, one of which shows an enthroned figure being offered a wine cup by one of two attendants. A feline animal prowls underneath the throne (Cat. 182, fig. 145). These bowls mirror a common pastime of royalty - that of the royal banquet. The theme of the enthroned figure is also found in ivory. An ivory pyxis from Cordoba dated 968,, shows a prince, a fan-bearer, a lute player and two falconers. The prince sits on the left holding a wine cup, the lute player stands and the fan-bearer sits on the right. Underneath the bench are two opposed lions, (Cat. 386, fig. 182).

Banquet scenes are popular on metalwork from the earliest centuries of Islam. They depict two themes. The first theme consists of the enthroned princely figure. The second theme consists of his entertainers and court attendants, who, as in the two examples above, raise a cup to him or carry an ewer from which to fill his cup. More elaborate scenes include musicians and dancers.<sup>39</sup> Baer points out that on early Islamic pieces the princely figure often half reclines on a couch - a low bench with cushions at one end. Gradually this type of throne seems to have been abandoned to be replaced by a long platform or dais upon which the prince sits. A further change occurs on some late 13th-century/early 14th-century Northwest Persian candlesticks on

which the throne is replaced by a folding chair, suitable for use outdoors. This was sometimes placed on a high pedestal.<sup>40</sup>

Two sorts of throne develop, at least as evidenced on mina'i ware. The first develops from the high-backed chair, which becomes wide enough to sit on cross-legged, as is also represented on metalwork.<sup>41</sup> The other type develops from a three sided platform.<sup>42</sup> This type is depicted on a penbox. A figure is seated on a platform flanked by an attendant on each side, with two confronted lions prowling in front of the platform. This penbox dates to the 12th or 13th century.<sup>43</sup> Ackerman writes that: "It is possible that...these lion thrones are connected with the ever-popular legend of Bahram Gur...".<sup>44</sup> She refers of course to the episode of Bahram Gur attaining the throne by snatching the crown from the two lions as recounted in the Shahnama.

The theme of the throne and lion continues until the 19th century in Islamic art. A Qajar peacock of the 19th century in the British Museum collection has a court scene depicted on its tail. One of the motifs is that of Solomon enthroned. Two lions flank the throne (Cat. 192, fig. 152). There are various portions of furniture ornamented with lions. For instance, a lion's head in bronze datable to between the 11th and 13th centuries, tops the end of a shaft and it is thought that it might once have formed the terminal of a chair or throne. (Cat. 108, fig. 87)

The connection between princes and lions is seen right from the earliest days of Islam. The palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar has a painted statue of a prince standing on a pedestal ornamented by two lions, seated on their haunches, facing away from each other, towered over by the Prince (Cat. 378, fig. 178). The connection of the lion and throne appears on two 12th-century relief carvings from the Fortress of Diyarbakr in Anatolia.<sup>45</sup> They appear in a frieze along with images of the throne, ruler, eagle and hunting scenes. Much work remains to be done on the theme of the enthroned figure in Islamic art, however, there does seem to be a connection between the images of the lion,

princes and thrones. The lion is by no means always present as an adjunct to enthronement scenes, however it is present in a number of cases.

#### **Textiles: The lion and tree motif**

The themes of the lion and other animals and the lion-strangler or lion hunter motifs have been discussed in previous chapters. The theme I would like to address here is the iconography of the lion and tree motif. The lion and tree motif is found on textiles which predate Islam. For instance, a Sasanian silk shows a royal figure riding a winged horse. In the centre is a tree with a lotus finial. The figure holds a small lion. This may be a Bahram Gur image. Below are confronted lions, a lion killing a stag and other scenes.<sup>46</sup> To confuse the issue, a silk design from a Chinese pattern, copying a West Asian precedent, now in the Horyuji near Nara, shows Khusraw II wearing a winged crown, mounted on a winged horse, preparing to attack a lion which has reared up at his horse. In the centre is a highly stylized pomegranate tree. The whole design is enclosed in a pearl roundel.<sup>47</sup> The subject of decorative textiles is very complex. Silk woven textiles were manufactured throughout the medieval Near and Far East. Silk manufacture had been a process known only to the Chinese until the fourth century AD, when it was introduced to Korea and Japan. Until the sixth century the Near East and the Roman world was dependent upon Chinese sources. Large quantities of silks were brought into the Roman Empire through the Persian empire and across Syria.<sup>48</sup> Silk centres began to be established in Syria and Egypt from the fourth century AD, in the towns of Antioch and Alexandria respectively.<sup>49</sup> Workshops opened in Constantinople charged with producing fabrics for the royal court. Justinian in 552 AD, broke the monopoly on silks, introducing sericulture into Greece, Persia and Syria. Later, the process was transmitted to North Africa and Andalusia by the Arabs. Persia, however, maintained its dominance over the silk industry until the 13th

century.<sup>50</sup>

Silk woven textiles have survived largely because they were used as Christian clerical vestments and for wrapping relics of saints. Spain in the Almoravid and Almohad periods was a leading textile centre for both raw materials and finished products. Almeria had contacts with the rest of the Muslim world and was also a port of call for Christian ships.<sup>51</sup> As can be seen from the above summary, the textile industry was influenced from a variety of sources. It is not always clear whether a particular textile was manufactured in a Byzantine centre or by Muslims. Provenance is further complicated by the fact that most of the textile fragments survived in European Church Treasuries.

A silk which has been assigned to the 10th century which is now in the Textile Museum in Washington (Cat. 420, fig. 211), shows falconers flanking a tree. Underneath their feet are a pair of lions couchant, regardant. Another silk also attributed to Iran, dated 994 AD, shows a pair of winged horned lions confronting each other on either side of a conventionalised tree (Cat. 422, fig. 212). A silk datable to the 10th or 11th century (Cat. 425), now in the Cleveland Museum of Art is decorated with roundels. The enclosed design consists of winged lions, leaping onto the backs of horned quadrupeds arranged on both sides of a conventionalized tree. A band of Kufic inscription runs between the roundels. A Buyid textile of the 10th century shows a similar theme. Opposed pairs of winged lions bite the necks of bulls or horses, one pair on each side of a central tree. Birds are shown above and winged felines below, all enclosed in roundels (Cat. 428). A number of other examples bear winged lions flanking a tree (Cats. 429, 430, 433, fig. 214). In some examples lion without wings crouch or run on either side of the central tree (Cats. 434, 439, 442, fig. 218).<sup>52</sup>

A 12th-century silk from Islamic Spain (Cat. 443, fig. 219a-c), shows pairs of rampant lions, addorsed and regardant, flanking a

stylized tree. A small quadruped is captured under the feet of each lion. The motif is repeated in medallions with beaded borders. Two bands of Kufic inscription read: "Victory from God to Amir al-Muslimin 'Ali." The inscription refers to the Almoravid Caliph ruling between 1107 and 1143 AD, Prince 'Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Tashfin. We can conclude that a number of pieces bear winged lions or lions flanking a central tree, enclosed by roundels, and that the motif occurs on Chinese, Byzantine and Islamic textiles. The majority of the Islamic textiles bearing this theme catalogued in this thesis are datable from between the 10th and 12th centuries and have been attributed in the main to Iran or Spain. Does the motif have a particular significance?

Perhaps we can best approach this subject by discussing individual motifs. The motif of the lion rampant, sometimes occurring with the griffin and eagle is an ancient heraldic device traceable back to ancient Mesopotamia. It occurs on cylinder seals of the third millennium BC.<sup>53</sup> The animals frequently flank a stylized tree, or on a classical example, a plant in a vase.<sup>54</sup> This motif was disseminated throughout the Mediterranean world through trade links.<sup>55</sup> It occurs on Gandharan sculpture of the 2nd or 3rd centuries AD. One example shows two confronted lions rearing up, a quadruped underfoot.<sup>56</sup> The tree seems to have had a cosmic significance in many cultures over many centuries.<sup>57</sup> Two striking examples of its significance occur in passages from the Bible and the Quran. The Biblical passage is found in Daniel, Chapter 4, verses 10-12, which run thus:

Thus were the visions of mine head in my bed;  
I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the  
earth, and the height thereof was great. The  
tree grew, and was strong, and the height  
thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight  
thereof to the end of all the earth. The  
leaves thereof were fairer and the fruit  
thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the  
beasts of the field had shadow under it, and  
the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs  
thereof, and all flesh was fed of it...

The passage in the Quran is taken from Sura 24, the Sura of

Light, verse 35. It is less explicit than the verses quoted above, but nevertheless does accord special status to the tree:

...(This lamp is) kindled from a blessed tree,  
an olive neither of the East nor of the  
West, whose oil would almost glow forth (of  
itself) though no fire had brushed it...

There are frequent Quranic references to the named trees of Paradise - the Tuba tree and Sidrat al-muntaha. The tree then, is a symbol which had meaning both to the Christian and therefore Byzantine traditions and to Islamic traditions.

Sphinxes, harpies and the Tree of Life are a motif of ancient origin which continued to have a meaning through to Islamic times. While winged lions, such as are found in the catalogued textiles, are not sphinxes or griffins, it has been noted that the griffin in its earliest form, going back to Mesopotamian civilisation, had a lion's head. By the 3rd millennium BC, it had developed a bird's head and claws combined with a lion's body and wings.<sup>58</sup>

Several textiles from Rayy which have been attributed on stylistic grounds to the Buyid and Seljuq periods bear these motifs. Although some of these textiles are later than the Buyid and Spanish examples mentioned above, they do show some aspects of possible symbolic significance, so are worth discussing.<sup>59</sup> A silk cloth in the County Museum of Los Angeles collection bears decoration comprising of roundels enclosing four sphinxes, arranged feet to feet in mirror repetition and separated by a tree which forms a cruciform motif.<sup>60</sup> Baer reads the inscription in the roundels as follows: "My God, you see my plight and need and poverty, and you hear my suppressed supplication". She goes on to state that: "The invocation leaves little doubt that the cloth was woven for a particular purpose: it was intended as a tomb cover or as a shroud".<sup>61</sup> The problem is posed of whether the design is purely decorative or it was chosen deliberately as was the inscription because it had special significance. There are a number of earlier



burial textiles in which two pairs of animals are shown in similar composition and surrounded by related phrases.

Baer quotes several examples in her article. A silk cloth said to have been found in a tomb tower or mausoleum near Rayy shows a similarly arranged composition. The inscription again refers to the inevitability of death and is also attributed to Ali ibn Abi-Talib. Baer concludes that:

The common ideas which link the ornaments of these burial textiles are quite obvious. The artists chose the designs of birds or of an ancient mythological winged creature as the main decorative motif for those tissues commissioned for a special purpose, arranged them identically in antithetic compositions, and inserted a stylized tree ornament either in the interstices or in the centre of each roundel<sup>62</sup>.

Birds and sphinxes have long been linked in Islamic art and in previous cultures. The Achaemenians, for instance, seem to have considered these animals to be solar animals.<sup>63</sup> It is perhaps understandable that the lion with its solar implications and visual association with the sun, should appear winged. Sphinxes, birds and trees are found on funerary monuments in Asia Minor as well as on shrouds and tomb covers. A pair of addorsed sphinxes are found on the facade above the doorway of the Döner Kumbet at Kayseri. Panels to the right and left of the doorway bear palm trees, stylized birds and pairs of lions.<sup>64</sup>

It is suggested that given the fact that sphinxes on funerary monuments seem to have symbolic significance and appear in association with plant ornaments, the plants should perhaps be regarded as symbolising the 'Tree of Life'<sup>65</sup> applicable in Muslim theology as in the theologies of previous religions and thus it is peculiarly fitting that these themes should appear on textiles used as shrouds as well as on funerary monuments.<sup>66</sup> Baer concludes that:

In view of the apparently still vivid solar

associations of the sphinx in the minds of the Islamic people of the 12th-13th century we might propose that its display on burial textiles is to be linked to those or related ideas associated with these monsters. As solar animals or animals of light they were probably regarded as celestial creatures which, belonging to the upper world, apparently reminded the believers of eternal light, of life after death or 'paradise' and expressed either good wishes or eternal life for the deceased on whose tomb the cloth was placed.<sup>67</sup>

Other meanings have been attributed to silks decorated with roundels enclosing the central tree motif flanked by animals and men. Ackerman refers to these as 'Triumph' silks. A poem by Mutanabbi dating to 947 AD, is quoted in justification.

there are gardens that no rains have vexed  
And great tree branches where no doves have sung  
A string of pearls that none with thread have pierced.  
Runs around the border of the double ply...  
The forest beasts you here together find;  
Though foe fights foe, they yet in peacocks dwell,  
Where'er the tent-side billows with wind,  
The horses ramp and the lions outwit their prey  
Before his haughty turbaned conqueror...<sup>68</sup>

Ackerman reconstructs a motif from the scene described as a Sasanian roundel enclosing a leafy tree on either side of which, at the bottom is an animal combat group, a rampant lion and other animals. Across the centre flanking the tree was, she suggests, the main motif: a Hamdanid prince on his horse, before him on foot, a Byzantine prince in the posture of defeat.<sup>69</sup> Both Arnold and Ackerman take this poem to have been composed upon the occasion of the Hamdanid prince of Aleppo - Sayf ad-Dawla-capturing the Byzantine fortress of Barzuyah.

It is striking that caskets from Muslim Spain should mirror in theme many of the textiles. The casket made for al-Mughira (Cat. 386, fig. 182) contains many of these themes. Lions maul oxen in the lobed compartments in the main part of the casket, on either side of a stylized tree. Other scenes include horsemen, griffins, falconers, antelopes, lions attacking quadrupeds and other motifs. It has been

suggested and indeed seems likely that textiles provided the source for many of these motifs.<sup>70</sup> Umayyad silks from Syria are particularly likely as a source, given the links of the Umayyad dynasty with Spain. These textiles display bird catchers, mounted hunters, lions attacking horses, centralised tree motifs and other themes – themes also found on more contemporary Buyid silks.<sup>71</sup>

One can conclude that while the textiles under discussion bear ancient motifs, inherited most recently from Sasanian models, in the case of the Islamic textiles, the maintenance of the tradition in such a strong form would argue for a symbolism deeper than mere decoration. Furthermore, the appearance of these motifs on funeral shrouds in Persia as well as on funerary monuments in Anatolia would argue for a retention of the cosmic symbolism inherent in earlier traditions.

There are examples of the use of the winged lion, and Tree of Life motifs on the monuments of Seljuq Anatolia. A frieze from Nusaybin has a winged peacock, and Tree of Life.<sup>72</sup> Reliefs flanking the portal of the Yakutiye Medrese at Erzurum (1310 AD) show a Tree of Life composed of palm fronds emanating from a vase-like shape surmounted by a winged eagle and sun, flanked by two confronted winged lions, the whole composition framed by an arch.<sup>73</sup> A rare example of the use of this motif in the minor arts of Anatolia is a Quran shelf decorated with a painting on wood showing a double headed eagle, lion and Tree of Life.<sup>74</sup> Öney suggests that such designs show the continuation of ancient Central Asian Shamanistic beliefs. The Tree of Life helped the Shaman, accompanied by the lion, to reach the sky, moon and sun. The lions were guardians of the magic tree – considered to be a symbol of eternal life and the axis of the World.<sup>75</sup> Buyid silks and Spanish ivories bear similar motifs, perhaps merely signifying the pursuit of princely pleasures, however, their close relationship to Western examples, and the fact that many of the textiles have been preserved in Church treasuries would perhaps argue for a symbolism apparent to both Muslims and Christians.

The motifs of winged lions, sphinxes and human-headed birds with conventionalized scrolls or trees are a decorative theme found in many media. The tree, in one interpretation, is thought to represent the waq-waq tree of Alexandrian legend. It occurs in the illustrations to Qazwini's Wonders of Creation and other books of geography and cosmography. Baer suggests that "...the transformation of real leaves into imaginary animals or human shapes, and the appearance of human-headed creatures in the branches of a legendary tree were ideas of common currency. Ideas of magical transformations, reflected both in Persian medieval literature and decorative arts of the Muslim world, are deeply rooted in the popular imagination, and not, therefore, empty decorative formulae."<sup>76</sup>

#### The Lion as a single image

The lion as a single image occurs in a variety of media in Islamic Art: metalwork, ceramics, stone, textiles and rock crystal among others. Pieces cover a broad geographic area and many centuries. The meaning of these images, if any, is hard to determine. Metal incense burners in the shape of a lion may well have religious significance as do the stone lions over graves in Iran, but the lion decorating a ceramic plate, for instance, is likely to have no specific meaning, but merely fulfils a decorative function.

A group of incense burners from Iran datable to the 11th to 13th centuries, are in the shape of lions. Typically these incense burners have an openwork body often traced with scrolls. The head of a lion, part of an incense burner has an openwork and traced design on the neck, showing intertwined scrolls (Cat. 106, fig. 85). Another example is decorated with patterns derived from textiles (Cat. 115, fig. 94). This one also has Quranic inscriptions along the neck, breast and back. These are taken from Sura 62 - 'The Congregation', read by D.S.Rice as follows:

O true believers, when ye are called to prayer  
on the day of assembly hasten to the  
commemoration of God, and leave merchandising.  
This will be better for you, if you knew it.  
And when prayer is ended then disperse  
yourselves through the land lie list and seek,  
gain of the liberty of God and remember God  
(frequently that you may prosper).<sup>77</sup>

The incense burners of this type catalogued in the thesis are all of bronze, with openwork bodies, datable between the 11th and the 13th centuries and attributed to Iran; they are generally assigned to north east Iran. Others of this period have been found in the shape of birds.<sup>78</sup> Zoomorphic bronzes also occur in Fatimid Egypt, but it is not clear whether they functioned as incense burners, or as fountain heads.<sup>79</sup> Zoomorphic vessels have been found in Spain and Sicily, serving as incense burners, aquamaniles, lamps and water sprinklers.<sup>80</sup> Similar types also survive from the Roman and Byzantine periods. Fehérvári suggests that: "without dated examples or well stratified archaeological material, it is not possible to offer an exact date, nor to attempt a chronological order for these animals".<sup>81</sup>

Examples of the lion as a single image often seem to have a connection with water, for instance the lion holding a water pipe in its mouth, probably from Spain or Sicily (Cat. 114, fig. 93). This is an aquamanile made of bronze in the shape of a standing lion. It has a long turned-up tail which is joined to the back of its head. The animal is decorated with elaborate engraving. Apparently, this type of aquamanile was also popular in Western Europe where a number of pieces are extant.<sup>82</sup> They date also between the 11th and 13th centuries. An example similar to the piece quoted above is found in the Louvre. Datable to the 12th or 13th century, it bears Kufic inscriptions and is attributed to Spain.<sup>83</sup>

There are a number of aquamaniles and other objects with related shapes, found in pottery. An example is the turquoise blue glazed lion seated on its haunches with beaded decoration around its paws and a ruff

around its neck (Cat. 66, fig. 55). The British Museum collection has a similar piece (Cat. 64, fig. 53). Lions act as supports for a compotier also of blue glazed relief ware (Cat. 62, fig. 51). Apparently Mithraic cults in Iran made objects in the shape of a lion, such as incense burners, braziers, torches and oil lamps.<sup>84</sup> This influence seems to have carried on into the Islamic period. In Mithraism the lion symbolises fire: "The cleansing power of fire is in reality a renewal of the qualities of the lion. Like Jupiter, the lion punishes sinners with his lightning. In brief, fire connects the lion with the Sun."<sup>85</sup>

As we have seen in the discussion of 'Lion Masks' above, the connection of the lion with water in Seljuq Anatolia is concerned with the ritual of washing before prayer. In Iranian examples it seems to have a connection with the influence of Twelver Shi'itism which apparently regards water as one of its religious symbols. Tanavoli argues that:

In most places where water is present there is also a depiction of a lion. Since the lion is upright, brave, faithful and pure, he is also the guardian of the waters. To instill a sense of respect towards water in man, most implements and vessels that are used in conjunction with water were decorated with the lion motif from earliest times.<sup>86</sup>

He suggests that the association of the lion and water continued in the Islamic period, while from the beginning of the 16th century on, under the Safavids, the connection of the lion and water became more explicit with water cisterns, drinking fountains and public baths bearing images of lions. He points out that water faucets from this period are often shaped like lions and that the Persian word for both 'lion' and 'water' is shir.<sup>87</sup>

The lion motif is also found in the furnishings of public baths such as faucets, footscrapers and pumices. Lions decorate pumice holders and bathscrapers. A brass pumice holder in the shape of a lion kneeling couchant is attributed to north-west Iran or Armenia (Cat.

151, fig. 122). It has its face to the viewer, ears pricked up, eyebrows and collar marked and a bulbous nose. A band of ornament, possibly floriated Kufic, decorates the body. A clay bathscraper in the British Museum has two confronted lions modelled on it (Cat. 56). A terracotta footcleaner from northeastern Iran datable to between the 11th and 13th centuries, is decorated with a lion in relief. The lion occupies the entire surface and is shown standing head down, eyes closed, tail curved over back (Cat. 50, fig. 42). Stone lions are often found at the entrance to dressing rooms and pools, such as the 19th century baths - known as Hammam-i Hajji Mohammad Rahim in Qazwin, which has four marble lions in its dressing room. Apparently, many houses in northeastern Iran and Afghanistan still have rainspouts ending in lion heads. Courtyard pools have sculptures of lions in south western Iran.<sup>88</sup>

One cannot leave this subject without mentioning perhaps the most well known of all the Islamic lion fountains, that of the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra in Granada. The lions are generally agreed to date to the 11th century, whilst the basin is attributed to the 14th century. A long poetical inscription decorates the basin of the fountain:

Blessed be he who gave to the Imam Muhammad (V)  
 abodes which grace by their perfection all abodes;  
 or does not this bower contain wonders like unto which God  
 did not allow Beauty to find an equal.  
 A sculpted monument, its veil of splendour consists of a  
 pearl which adorns the environ with the diffusion of gems;  
 silver melting which flows between jewels one like the  
 other in beauty, white in purity.  
 A running stream evokes the illusion of being a solid  
 substance and one wonders which one is in truth fluid.  
 Don't you see that it is the water which is running over  
 the rim of the fountain, whereas it is the monument which  
 offers long channels for the water;  
 like one in love whose lids overflow with tears and who  
 curbs the tears in fear of a slanderer.  
 What else is it in truth but a mist which sheds forth from  
 the fountain drenchings towards the lions?  
 It (the fountain) resembles in this the hand of the caliph  
 when it happens that it sheds forth supports towards the  
 lions of the Holy War.  
 O thou who beholdest the lions whilst they are crouching,  
 timidity preventing them from becoming hostile;  
 O thou heir of the Helpers (of Muhammad, the Prophet) and

thus not through distant kin, a heritage of glory enabling  
you to raise even the well-rooted (mountains).  
God's blessing upon thee and mayest thou be blessed  
eternally to reiterate celebrations and to wear down thine  
enemies.<sup>89</sup>

The lions seem to have served a protective function and also represent lions of war. (Cat. 390, fig. 186)

Many ceramics bear images of lions. A shard of a storage jar with relief ornament, attributed to approximately the first century of Islam, shows lions walking, mouths open heads up, wearing collars, with scalloped ornament decorating the side of the neck to indicate ruffs or manes (Cat. 41). A plate of Persian provenance datable to the ninth or 10th centuries is decorated with a lion (Cat. 42, fig. 34). The lion has white, staring eyes pricked up ears and a collar. Its haunches are powerfully marked. It is executed in a dark colour on a light ground. A simple vine scroll ornament borders the plate. A sgraffito ware bowl of the same date and provenance is decorated with a lion. It is placed in the centre of a design composed of intersecting circles filled with cross-hatching and foliate designs (Cat. 43, fig. 35). Similar examples bearing a lion among other animals of the same date and provenance are extant (Cat. 44, fig. 36, cat. 46, fig. 38). These examples all come from Persia; however, pieces decorated with the lion as a single image have also been found in Egypt. A lustre-painted bowl datable to the 11th century is decorated with three leaf-shaped roundels each containing a prancing lion (Cat. 47, fig. 39). Another lustre-painted bowl possibly from Rayy datable to the 11th century bears a lion-like spotted creature looking back over its shoulder (Cat. 48, fig. 40). It has rounded ears, vertical lines indicate the ruff around the neck, the body shape is that of a lion. A bowl also datable to the 11th century is decorated with a lion walking towards the left, the body curved unnaturally to fit the shape of the bowl. Again palmette ornament decorates the bowl (Cat. 49, fig. 41). More Persian examples of bowls decorated with a lion as a single motif, dating to



the 11th and 12th centuries are described in the catalogue (Cat. 53, fig. 44, cat. 54, fig. 45, cat. 55, fig. 46). All of the bowls seem to bear traces of Sasanian decorative elements, either in the markings on the bodies of the lions, their enclosure in roundels, or the use of vine scroll and palmette ornament to decorate the interstices.

Many pieces of rock crystal are decorated with images of single lions. Most of these pieces have been provenanced to Egypt on the basis of contemporary eyewitness reports as well as the pieces themselves.<sup>90</sup> One such piece is a sculpted lion. The lion is carved in a crouching posture, simple in form with laid back rounded ears, a rounded face and lines indicating eyes and mouth. Its flanks are decorated with a half palmette design on its hindquarters and a stem connecting it with paired split palmettes on the forequarters. There is a cylindrical barrel-shaped cavity in its chest and a similar cavity in the underbelly (Cat. 385, fig. 181). Pinder-Wilson mentions that there are eleven other known rock crystal lions given an Islamic provenance. Six are found in church treasuries in Germany and Italy. All are crouching and some are decorated like the example above. He suggests that the cylindrical boring in the chest indicates use as ampullae, whilst the vertical borings in the underbelly were added to aid in the mounting, probably in the West.<sup>91</sup> A similar piece in the British Museum is described as a mace-head, but no explanation is given for such a conclusion. (Professor Rogers has suggested this possible use on the basis of the cylindrical borings in the body).<sup>92</sup>

The lion occurs as a decorative motif on three Islamic rock crystals, namely on a fragmentary cylindrical bottle in the City Museum, Dresden, on a fragment of a vessel in the Islamic Museum, Berlin and on a rock crystal mace head forming the top of the coronation sceptre of St. Stephen in the National Museum, Budapest.<sup>93</sup> Pinder-Wilson traces the theme of the crouching lion as a royal guardian back to Sasanian and Babylonian times. In India it apparently symbolised the Buddha as a universal lord. A small rock crystal lion

similar in appearance to the Islamic ones was found at Taxila, datable to the first century BC. The Achaemenids had a tradition of carving lions and free-standing lions carved in limestone are found in the Coptic art of Egypt.<sup>94</sup> Coincidentally the use of the lion as a single figure on rock crystal combined with the use of palmettes and half palmettes occurs on objects of similar date to the ceramics discussed earlier. Ewers in rock crystal sometimes bear images of the lion. The rock crystal ewer of al-Aziz Billah now in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice is decorated with a seated lion. It holds its head up, mouth slightly open, ears pricked back. It wears a collar round its neck. Vegetal forms decorate the remainder of the ewer and horned ibex crouch on top of the handle. This piece bears an inscription referring to a high ranking official.<sup>95</sup> Rock crystal and cut glass ranked only below gold and silver as the most highly esteemed materials in the Fatimid period.<sup>96</sup>

Closely connected to rock crystal are the carvings in cut-glass attributed to Egypt and known as 'Hedwig glasses'. This is a group of more than a dozen thick walled tumblers in smoky glass. Some of these bear images of rather abstracted lions. One such example is found in the British Museum Collection. It has been attributed to 12th century Egypt (Cat.389, fig. 185). The lion is shown walking, head up and tail curled high over a shortened body. The mane and facial details are marked by hatched and cross-hatched lines. An eagle also appears on the glass. Another 'Hedwig glass' has been dated to the 10th century. The lion is shown prancing, head up, tail waving in the air. Cross-hatched lines mark the mane at the back of the head, front of the chest and along its back. Cross-hatched lines on the back haunches indicate fur. Four of the glasses bear abstract decoration in the version of Samarra style C. Another eight bear animal decoration; namely lions, giraffes and eagles. It has been suggested that stylistically some of the figural designs may date from the end of the 11th century.<sup>97</sup> Both provenance and dating seem a little uncertain.

The lion as a single image has a talismanic value in metalwork at least as evidenced by surviving brass talismans. One such example is in the shape of a lion striding to the left, mouth open, ears pricked back, tail looped into body. Talismanic marks cover the body completely (Cat. 194, fig. 154). Two talismans attributed to Egypt or Syria are found in the British Museum collection (Cat. 195, fig. 155, cat. 196, fig. 156). Tanavoli states that the lion was supposed to ward off the evil eye. Silver arm pieces circular in shape bear a lion and the 'Sura of the Sun' reputed to bring happiness to the wearer when tied to the upper arm. Talismanic padlocks in the shape of a lion were thought to render its owner indestructible.<sup>98</sup>

The lion as a single image appears in relief carvings of the Seljuq period in Anatolia. It is found on the walls of mosques, medreses and hans as well as on bridges and fortresses.<sup>99</sup> Most of the examples quoted by Öney are from the 13th century. It is suggested that they should be viewed as protective talismanic images guarding against evil.<sup>100</sup> There are also three-dimensional stone carvings of lions from the 13th century in Anatolia.<sup>101</sup> These are roughly hewn, massive images, shown couchant, mouths open as if roaring. They are highly stylized images of great power.

Relief carvings of lions appear on tombstones of Anatolia dated to the 13th and 14th century. A tombstone from Kirsehir shows confronted lions<sup>102</sup>, while a tombstone from Tokat shows confronted lions flanking a Tree of Life.<sup>103</sup> There are other examples.<sup>104</sup> Öney states that these lions "are there to symbolise the assistance to be given to the spirit of the deceased in his sky journey".<sup>105</sup> This would seem to be a remnant of the Shamanistic beliefs mentioned in connection with the Tree of Life textiles.

Stone lions guard cemeteries in Iran. (Cat. 408, fig. 202, cat. 409, fig. 203, cat. 410, fig. 204). These are datable from the 17th to the 20th centuries. It has been suggested that these gravemarkers are in the shape of the lion to symbolise perhaps the close relationship

between the Imam Ali and the lion, in Iranian belief,<sup>106</sup> but also perhaps the courage of the deceased - for example in Bakhtiari territory. Funeral lions have been known from pre-Islamic times as evidenced by the stone lion of Hamadan. Under the Safavids it became the custom to honour martyrs fallen in battle through the use of lion grave markers.<sup>107</sup> Tanavoli writes that: "The stone lion therefore had both a secular and a religious aspect, secular in that the lion kept alive the memory of the Pahlavan and his lion-like strength, and religious in that pahlavans, martyrs and stone lions on their graves remind the faithful of Imam Ali."<sup>108</sup> It is possible that they may also be connected with the earlier Seljuq use of the lion on tombstones. The stone lions of Iran resemble in style some of the lion reliefs and sculptures of Seljuq Anatolia.

## CHAPTER SIX THE ZODIAC AND THE LION'S PLACE WITHIN IT

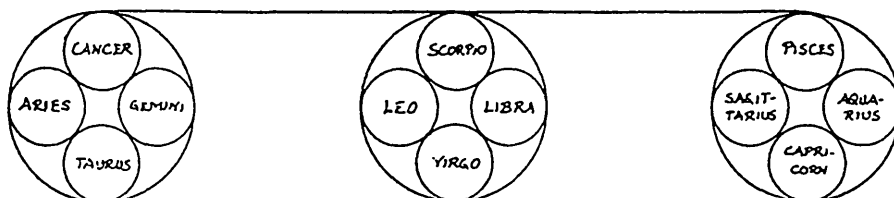
Islamic astronomy and astrology were based in large part on Greek, Indian and Persian writings. The terms astronomy and astrology were used interchangeably and books on astronomy often had chapters on astrology.<sup>1</sup> From the 8th century AD onwards Muslims were intensely interested in the cosmological sciences drawing on works done in preceding centuries at Alexandria, Harran and the Persian town of Jundishapur among others. During the Sasanian period the Persians had established the city of Jundishapur as a university centre which became the most important seat of scientific learning in Western Asia, attracting to it scholars from India and Greece as well as Persia. Islam drew on the writings in Syriac and Pahlavi preserved here, as well as Persian thought.<sup>2</sup>

This section will examine images of the lion as an astrological symbol. The motive occurs mainly on metalwork, but is also occurs in manuscripts and on architecture and ceramics. Let us first look at a corpus of pieces bearing this kind of imagery, then analyse the possible meaning and antecedents of the decoration. Our first example is a bucket in the British Museum. (Cat. 132, fig. 106) Of East Iranian provenance, the bucket is datable to the later 12th-early 13th century. The signs appear with the following attributes:

ARIES	ram
TAURUS	bull
GEMINI	human-headed bird
CANCER	crab
LEO	quadruped with head of bird of prey
VIRGO	pair of leafy branches
LIBRA	scales
SCORPIO	scorpion
SAGITTARIUS	human bust drawing a bow
CAPRICORN	ibex
AQUARIUS	well and bucket attached to a long rope
PISCES	a fish

Leo appears in a puzzling manner as a quadruped with the head of a bird of prey. An inkwell also from Iran and datable to the same period shows Leo as a seated lion. (Cat. 129, fig. 103)

An engraved penbox made and inscribed by Mahmud ibn Sunqur in 1280-81 AD (Cat.166, fig. 134) shows more complex imagery. The inner side of the lid shows the seven planets with their emblems. They are from right to left, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. The outer side shows the twelve zodiac signs arranged thus:



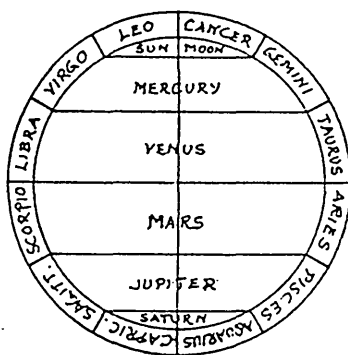
Each of the twelve signs is given in combination with its planet lord symbolised either by emblem or attitude:

MARS	Human figure standing, holds severed head behind Ram (Aries).
VENUS	Figure holding lute standing behind bull (Taurus)
GEMINI	One of the twins
MERCURY	Figure holding a crab (Cancer) with the moon over it.
VIRGO	Woman holding an ear of corn, confronted by Mercury holding a pen and scroll.
LIBRA	Woman holding a harp (Venus) underneath a balance.
SCORPIO	Figure holding scorpion - Scorpio with Mars
SAGITTARIUS	Centaur fused into one figure with Jupiter.
SATURN	Grey headed Indian with a pickaxe, holding an animal in his left hand standing behind Capricorn symbolised by an ibex. Aquarius is fused with lord of the sign.
JUPITER	Figure holds a vessel over the fish (Pisces).

The penbox shows a mixture of astrological motives combining two

systems: the exaltation and domicilium systems.

Most zodiac signs on metalwork appear in combination with their planetary lord. In the orthodox astrological doctrine there are seven planets, the Moon, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.<sup>3</sup> Since the beginning of Hellenistic astrology, two rival systems have been in use - the domicilium and the exaltation systems.<sup>4</sup> In the domicilium system the distribution of the seven planets among the twelve zodiac signs is as symmetrical as possible. The circle of the zodiac is as follows, from the top moving in a clockwise direction.



The line running vertically from between Leo and Cancer divides the planets. The top sign of one half is attributed to the Moon-Cancer, while the other half of the top, Leo, is attributed to the Sun. Each of the five remaining planets have two houses, on either side of this line, arranged according to their periods of revolution. Mercury is in Virgo and Gemini, Venus is in Libra and Taurus, Mars is in Scorpio and Aries, Jupiter is in Sagittarius and Pisces, and Saturn is in Capricorn and Aquarius. The zodiac signs are alternately male and female. Leo, Libra, Sagittarius, Aquarius, Aries and Gemini are male while the rest are female. The moon is the lord of the female domicilium while the sun is the lord of the male domicilium, and all the other planets have one of each kind.<sup>5</sup>

In the exaltation system, each planet is at its maximum power (exaltation) when standing in a specific sign of the zodiac. This is a dualistic system, the sign diametrically opposite the exaltation is called its 'dejection', where its influence is minimal or negligible.

The signs are distributed  
thus:<sup>6</sup>

PLANETS	EXALTATION	DEJECTION
the sun	Aries 19°	Libra 19°
the moon	Taurus 3°	Scorpio 3°
Saturn	Libra 21°	Aries 21°
Jupiter	Cancer 15°	Capricorn 15°
Mars	Capricorn 28°	Cancer 28°
Venus	Pisces 27°	Virgo 27°
Mercury	Virgo 15°	Pisces 15°

The earliest appearance of this system is in a pre-Hellenistic Babylonian cuneiform tablet; it also occurs in Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos. In a Greek papyrus of Egyptian origin of the 2nd century AD, and a century earlier in Pliny's Naturalis Historia, only one degree is identified as the planets' exaltation or dejection, apparently to aid in the calculation of horoscopes.<sup>7</sup> Signs of the zodiac do not normally appear in isolation. Those that appear without their planetary lord seem to be limited to a few East Iranian objects from the later 12th and early 13th centuries.

The Jauzahr or dragon forms the knotted tail of the centaur Sagittarius. Thus different elements are combined together, the Sagittarius centaur, Jupiter, lord of the domicile and the dragon's tail exalted in this sign. The dragon's head appears on a staff in Gemini. The Moon over the crab's claws is menaced by a pair of dragons and the lion surmounted by the radiant sun has a looped tail ending in the dragon's head. The jauzahr thus appears with both the Sun and the Moon, evidence of mixed iconographic use of the domicilium and exaltation system. The jauzahr is identified with the nodes of the Moon's orbit. These nodes are not fixed, but have constant motion, taking roughly eighteen and a half years to make a complete revolution through all the zodiac signs. The Arabic word al-jauzahr was derived from the Persian word gawzahr in turn derived from gao-cithra used as an epithet for the Moon "seed of the animals". In Zoroastrian writings



the word became gocihr - antagonist of the Sun, Moon and Stars. The Bundahisn (v. 52012) describes it as the dragon that "stood in the middle of the sky like a serpent, its Head in the Two Images (Gemini) and its Tail in the Centaur (Sagittarius), so that at all times there are six constellations between its Head and Tail; and its running is retrograde (so that) every ten years the Tail reverts to where the Head (was) and the Head to where the Tail (was)".<sup>8</sup> It was thought of by Islamic astrologers as being a giant snake or dragon. The lunar nodes, travelling on contrary motion to the Sun, Moon and planets were known as pseudo-planets capable of bringing to pass solar and lunar eclipses. The association of the Moon and the dragon or serpent jauzahr is ancient. A Sasanian seal of the 5th century shows the crescent, stars and lion with the serpent encircling them, its tail in its mouth. Precedents for this image go back to Egyptian and Babylonian sources.<sup>9</sup>

A late 12th century vessel from Iran shows a similar representation. (Cat. 126, fig. 101) In the central picture of Leo, the dragon at the end of the lion's tail has wings, and is shown in a menacing attitude towards the radiant Sun. In this vessel, Gemini, as on the pen box, holds the staff with a dragon's head while a loop or knot under the disk of the Moon, in Cancer, represents the dragon. A later example, a world mirror from 15th century Persia, shows the sun in the centre, mounted on the back of a lion, combining the sign and planet (Cat. 185, fig. 147). Mercury replaces the virgin, the lord of the sign, reaping the ear of corn with a scythe and Venus holds the balance. Representations of the head and tail of the dragon, in Gemini and Sagittarius appear in opposite places in the zodiac. Leo and the Sun may have become inextricably associated in astrological doctrine and artistic perception. The designer may not have realised that the exceptions violate the canons of the depiction of 'isolated' signs.

It has been suggested that the symbols of the planets, as they appear on Islamic metalwork, derive from Hellenistic traditions. According to Baer the attributes in standard illustrations are as

follows:

PLANET	ATTRIBUTE
MOON	Human figure, with or without a crown seated cross-legged, holding crescent with two points meeting at his head.
MERCURY	Human figure, seated cross-legged or in a squatting position, identified by a book or a pen and scroll.
VENUS	Female figure holding an 'ud (lute).
MARS	Male figure carrying sword in right hand, severed head in left hand.
JUPITER	Male figure, may carry sword, usually held in his right hand, sometimes holds bottle or flask in left hand, alternatively may carry two or three fish or may have no attributes.
SATURN	Human figure, male, bearded. Can carry pickaxe, bucket or miscellaneous round, rectangular or crescent shaped objects. Often wears pointed hat.
SUN	Radiant disk with human face, or several faces, or tripartite disk. May be seated, winged figure raising radiant disk to its face. May hold radiant disk in front of its body. Sometimes represented by walking sphinx. <sup>10</sup>

The Tigris bridge of Jazirat ibn 'Umar, dated to the second half of the 12th century, bears zodiac carvings illustrating the exaltation system (Cat. 394, fig. 190). The reliefs depict Saturn and Libra, Jupiter and Cancer, Mars and Capricorn, the Sun and Leo, Venus and Pisces, Mercury and Virgo, the Moon and Taurus, Sagittarius and possibly Mars. Why have astrological imagery on a bridge? This bridge was erected during the reign of the Artuqids, who, as shown by the imagery on their coins, had a great interest in astrology. So it is not surprising to find a bridge bearing astrological imagery during this period.<sup>11</sup> Added to the seven planets is *jauzahr*, considered as an eighth planet, shown as Sagittarius - a centaur shooting with his bow. Another figure is unclear.<sup>12</sup> An exception to the system of exaltations is the fourth relief representing the constellation of Leo surrounded by the Sun; the inscription designates Leo as the exaltation of the Sun.<sup>13</sup> This is contrary to the rules of astrology which gives Aries not Leo as the exaltation of the Sun. The artist has represented not the

exaltation of the Sun but its domicilium.

The lion has been identified as a solar animal since the 4th millennium BC when the heliacal rising of the constellation of Leo took place at the same time as the summer solstice.<sup>14</sup> The exaltation system was used in Babylonian astrology, whilst the domicilium system was used by the Greeks and Romans. Occasionally the two systems seem to have been confused in Islamic astrology.<sup>15</sup> There are many depictions of the eclipse dragon in Islamic art found in manuscripts, eg the Paris pseudo-Galen frontispiece,<sup>16</sup> on coins (Qara Arslan Artuqid ruler at Diyarbakr (AD 1109-1144), as a gate motif in Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Syria and as a funerary element on the tombstone of a Mamluk ruler in Egypt.<sup>17</sup> An entwined dragon motif is common to the art of Central Asia before Islam and is found in Panjikent in the seventh or eighth centuries AD.<sup>18</sup> In Eastern Turkistan the ecliptic dragon is combined with Chinese male and female principles represented by a pair of snakelike reptiles shown with entwined tails.<sup>19</sup> Azarpay suggests that Seljuq representations were taken from Chinese models, as the bodies were knotted.<sup>20</sup> The dragon was used as a portal device in Chinese architecture. Muslim use of entwined dragons in this context may have served as a protection against eclipse demons entering the city.<sup>21</sup> The symbol has also been interpreted as an allegorical reference to the snuffing out of life - thus explaining the presence of the motif on tombstones.<sup>22</sup> Persian and Egyptian metalwork and some manuscripts show the dragon as an integral part of some of the zodiac signs, normally arranged according to the domicilium system, in which the dragon has no right to appear.<sup>23</sup> Its appearance in an inappropriate context suggests a possibly talismanic value or lack of knowledge of the astronomical system.

The lion-dragon-centaur motif occurs in other contexts. A Persian miniature from circa 1550 shows Sagittarius as a centaur-like figure with plumed helmet shooting an arrow backwards. The centaur's animal part is lion-shaped and the tail ends in a dragon's head. Arabesques

and floral scrolls cover the creature (Cat. 312). A Nujum al-Ulum manuscript, dated 1570 AD suggests a relationship between the lion and the centaur as folio 57 shows. A lion is depicted here with paws outstretched and mouth open. Gold dots appear on its head, paws, body and tail, perhaps representing stars. It appears on the lower part of the page, while a centaur appears above (Cat. 319). The Wonders of Creation manuscript, folio 54, dated to 1572,<sup>24</sup> shows figures representing constellations (Cat.305). At the top of the page are a lion and a centaur. The centaur is composed of a man's torso wearing an orange robe, white undershirt and white turban, two knotted streamers flow from its head with white animal heads, long snouts, big teeth and pricked up ears. The centaur gallops from left to right holding a floriated stick in one hand while swinging a yellow lion around by its back paws in the other hand. The centaur and lion are covered in grey spots.

Why does the lion appear so frequently with the dragon, shown in a menacing attitude to the Sun? Hartner suggests that this combination of the Sun with the dragon stems not from astrological doctrine, but rather from mythological sources, of the Sun and a light devouring creature.<sup>25</sup> He makes no attempt to explain the presence of a lion.

Nizami's poem the Haft Paikar, a poem with much astrological content, contains references to all three elements...

A lion on a dragon's seldom seen, and a  
sun which has drawn a scimitar  
But see the king who in the fight and  
chase riding a lion burns the dragon fell  
His axe beneath the dragon of his flag  
splits at a stroke the dragon as a snake.<sup>26</sup>

The accompanying notes explain that the reference to the sun is an allusion to the king as the sun is king of the planets. The dragon represents a warrior, and is also an allusion to the constellation draco, extinguished by the sun. Inasmuch as a section of the Haft

Paikar relates the story of Bahram Gur going to chase and kill the dragon, one wonders whether this is connected to him. I would tend to reject Hartner's attribution of the lion-dragon-centaur motif to mythological sources, in favour of an astrological solution. As evidenced by the fifth century Sasanian seal in the British Museum collection, there are precedents both in artistic representation and astrological doctrine for the three creatures to be linked together.

Associated with the lion-dragon-centaur imagery is the decoration on a fragment of a stucco frieze from Konya datable to the 13th century. It shows two men on horseback, one of whom kills a lion, while the other is killing a dragon. (Cat.399, fig. 194) A silk attributed to Iran dated to 994 AD shows what may be a variation on this theme with serpents replacing dragons. A pair of winged horned lions confront each other on either side of a conventionalised tree. A pair of undulating confronted serpents are pinned beneath the paws of the lion. (Cat. 422, fig. 212).

The dragon appears in both Christian and Islamic architecture. On the men's entrance to the Jacobite church at Jazirat ibn Umar and the men's entrance to the Chaldean church there are lions whose tails end in dragons' heads.<sup>27</sup> (fig. 238) Perhaps as they are over the men's entrance it was not felt necessary to have a centaur as there was already a masculine emphasis. The Talisman Gate in Baghdad, built in 1221, bears terracotta decoration in the form of a crouching figure in the centre flanked on either side by two winged dragons with forelegs and convoluted knotted tails. Two lions crouch on either side at the bottom of the arch. The central figure grasping the dragons by their tongues may represent the Caliph al-Nasir defeating heterodoxies.<sup>28</sup> (Cat. 398, fig. 193) Gates from Bukhara to Cairo were frequently decorated with lions and snakes.<sup>29</sup> The meaning of these symbols is not clear, although it is generally acknowledged that the gates were symbols of princely power. Grabar suggests that in Anatolia, the motif can be attributed to non-Islamic, Turkish pagan or Buddhist influences

- whilst local traditions and superstitions were involved in the decoration of the lion gate at Hamadan and the Aleppo gates.<sup>30</sup>

Vessels could bear both hunting scenes and zodiacal signs, a combination suggesting a complexity of meanings. The Wade Cup is an example of metalwork decorated in part with zodiac designs (Cat. 127, fig. 102a-c). The outer decoration consists of a large circular band just below the rim of animated inscriptions, six downward pointing triangles are filled with decorative knots. Below this band is a row of lozenge-shaped compartments surrounding six signs of the zodiac; the six remaining signs occupy the lowest register. Compartments formed by the overlapping loops of decorative bands are filled with processions of real and imaginary animals - antelopes, dogs, cheetahs, sphinxes, harpies and birds. The inner wall of the cup bears a narrow band of blessing inscriptions. A circular plaque at the bottom of the cup contains a central knot framed by four sphinx-like animals arranged in a circular pattern. The body of the bowl proper contains two rows of fish swimming in an anti-clockwise direction.

The zodiac images of the Wade Cup can be tabulated as follows:

ARIES	Ram combined with figure of its astrological lord Mars. Mars rides on rams's back holding a severed head.
TAURUS	A goat ridden by a figure holding a lute symbolising Venus.
GEMINI	Twin figures facing each other; between them a staff topped by a mask.
CANCER	Crab surmounted by a winged figure holding the Moon.
LEO	Striding lion. Radiant sun disk above. Small horned head in front of lion, may be a dragon.
VIRGO	Figure of Mercury reaping corn.
LIBRA	Male dancing figure (Venus).
SCORPIO	Figure of Mars holding a scorpion and shouldering a sword.
SAGITTARIUS	Centaur fused with figure of Jupiter and the head of a dragon.

CAPRICORN	Animal being ridden by Saturn with a goat head.
AQUARIUS	Figure of Saturn as an old Indian with a pointed beard together with a horned dragon.
PISCES	Figure of Jupiter seated cross-legged between two fish.

In large part the Cup conforms to the domicilium system, although in most cases only one of the two possible signs is shown. For instance Libra is shown with Venus, but not Taurus, Pisces is shown with Jupiter but not Sagittarius. The intermingling of zodiacal signs with real and imaginary animals, although the zodiac signs are given slightly more prominence, would suggest a weakening of symbolism in that they are both used together. The real and imaginary animals may have been an afterthought to fill the spaces created by the loops, but this solution does not occur on the vessels decorated solely with zodiac and planetary signs. The use of imaginary animals with mythological significance - sphinxes and harpies - may be a concession to the astrological nature of the decoration. The use of only one group of signs - the planetary signs rather than the zodiac signs - could imply that the system was so familiar that the designer could use a form of shorthand. Possibly both signs could not be fitted into the available space, or the domicilium system was so little understood that it was not realised that to be iconographically correct, both signs should be present.

The sphinx and harpy may be linked with the lion and other zodiac figures. Motifs of birds, fishes and animal wheels appear to have a solar significance: "the fish may stand for the nightly phases of the sun for the sun sunk into the sea whereas the bird symbolises the sun in the sky".<sup>31</sup> A wheel of birds seem to have taken the place of the sun disk with rays in the scheme of the seven planets, eg. an inlaid brass bowl of the third quarter of the 14th century has a revolving wheel of birds surrounded by circles of swimming fish, where one could expect to find a sun disk and rays.<sup>32</sup> A bowl in the Freer Gallery provides a link in that it shows a radiant sun surrounded by circling fish.<sup>33</sup> Sphinxes

have had a connection with the sun going back as far as the Achaemenian period. A seal from that period shows two standing sphinxes supporting a winged sun disk with a crescent disk enclosing a crowned god between them.<sup>34</sup> The leonine body of the sphinx on the Wade Cup suggests an association with the zodiac sign of Leo:

Since this combination of sun and lion goes back to the fourth millennium BC, the lion has, here as always, a strong solar significance. The wings endow the animal, of course, with the quality of a bird, and it is thus linked physiologically and iconographically with the original form of the animal wheel.<sup>35</sup>

An Islamic connotation for the sphinx is found in the recording of a visit made to Persepolis by Ibn al-Balkhi in the early 12th century. He described the winged creatures of the gateway of Xerxes as representatives of Buraq on account of their human heads and wings. Ettinghausen says that

.... he would certainly have applied this term to sphinxes of the type we find on the Wade Cup because they, too, show a human head and wings with the body of a quadruped. This new interpretation as Buraq brings to the wheel pattern the concepts of swift flight, ascent, sky and heaven, all of which makes it akin to the original associations of the bird design, whose place the sphinxes have taken.<sup>36</sup>

Why did this substitution take place on the Wade Cup? Just before the making of the Wade Cup, mystical writings had been preoccupied with the theme of ascension, and also with the monuments of the Iranian past, and Ettinghausen argues that these two tendencies made the Wade Cup possible.<sup>37</sup>

Ettinghausen postulates a date before 1221 for the Wade Cup, citing 13th century derivations and the fact that the production of the Wade Cup needed specific economic and intellectual conditions ie. large urban centres with skilled metalworkers - such as existed in Khurasan - as well as a special concern with cosmological imagery.<sup>38</sup> Rice suggests that the Cup was probably made during the third decade of the 13th century in Khurasan.<sup>39</sup> A number of distinguished astronomers lived in Khorasan in the 12th and early 13th centuries, amongst them al-Khazini,



Muhammad al-Kharaqi and al-Muzaffar al-Tusi. Ettinghausen concludes that:

The other form of interest in the heavenly bodies was astrological and magical. There was a great vogue for this approach at this period from the highest to the lowest social levels. This was shown by the various signs of the zodiac applied for magic purposes to the coins, to many fine vessels of clay and metal, and also by the simple magic bowls which specifically state that they are made under propitious astrological conditions and depict them (sic) with celestial symbols.<sup>40</sup>

An example of a piece bearing astrological symbols and intended to have amazing magical properties, according to its inscription, is a bronze mirror executed under the Seljugs and dated by inscription to 1153, the earliest dated piece of metalwork decorated with astrological symbols. Roundels enclose the seven planets. The Moon holds a crescent, Mars has a raised sword and holds a severed head. Jupiter is represented by a seated man and the sun by a figure holding a radiant disk. Saturn holds a pickaxe while Mercury writes and Venus plays a lute. The inscription describes its magical properties.

"This blessed mirror was made in the ascendant of the blessed augury and it will serve, inshallah, for curing the paralysis of the mouth, alleviate the pains of childbirth and also other pains and sufferings if Allah permit. This was achieved in the month of the year 548... it was made of seven metals as the sun passed through the signs of Aries."<sup>41</sup>

A number of other vessels are decorated with zodiac imagery. A bowl in the Kabul Museum, found in Afghanistan, is stylistically related to the Wade Cup, having as its outside decoration a large Kufic inscription expressing good wishes while the interior shows signs of the zodiac containing the usual twelve figures with the addition of three figures between Aries and Pisces.<sup>42</sup> The cover of an inkwell from Khorasan, datable to the late 12th early 13th centuries, is decorated with the twelve zodiac signs (Cat.131, fig. 105). Leo is shown as a walking lion, looking back at Cancer, represented by a crab. A candlestick attributed to Western Iran during the first quarter of the 13th century shows the signs in the domicilium system (Cat. 150, fig.

121). Leo is shown as a walking lion, and a huge sun represented by a human mask with radiating pentagons. Glass pieces were also decorated with signs of the zodiac, for example, a glass bowl with simple zodiac signs which is datable to the late 13th century (Cat. 403, fig. 198). It is plainly decorated with scrolls in gold and twelve medallions containing the twelve signs of the zodiac in gold on a blue ground. The lion is shown pacing with the sun above his back. The bowl was inscribed but the inscription has worn away. The piece is Mamluk.

So some pieces bear the signs in isolation, while other pieces bear a mixture of iconographic elements taken from both the domicilium and exaltation systems. Were craftsmen told to decorate vessels with the twelve signs of the zodiac, using motifs that they were familiar with, not realising that there were two different systems in operation? Or is it, as Sez nec would argue, an instance of the careless way in which Islam appropriated imagery?<sup>43</sup>

I will analyse the repertoire of zodiac imagery available to early Islam in order to try and ascertain why certain images became standard, including that of the lion and the sun. Floors in a number of synagogues in Palestine were decorated with zodiac designs drawing on Greek and Roman depictions of the signs. The Beth Alpha synagogue has a 6th century mosaic floor.<sup>44</sup> On this the zodiac is shown as a wheel with Helios, the sun god, in the centre. The signs fill the spokes of the wheel and four busts of women representing the seasons occupy the corners. The signs are shown as follows:

SIGN	ATTRIBUTE
ARIES	ram
TAURUS	bull
GEMINI	twins
CANCER	crab
LEO	lion walking, mouth open, tail curved over back. Long claws on paws.
VIRGO	female figure
LIBRA	male figure, holding scales?
SCORPIO	scorpion

SAGITTARIUS	male archer
CAPRICORN	front part of an animal, goat?
AQUARIUS	figure, holding water divining device?
PISCES	two fish

The Umayyad eighth century hunting lodge at Qusayr 'Amra had a zodiac fresco decorating the dome of the cupola. This shows that such astrological imagery was available to Islam at an early date. This fresco is the only extant example of the projecting of a star map of the heavens on a spherical surface and as such is a monument of crucial significance for several cultures. There are links connecting Qusayr 'Amra with the Arabic globes of the 13th century and so with the astral configurations of the western medieval age which were based upon these globes.<sup>45</sup> The celestial pole is placed in the centre of the cupola, but the twelve radii do not begin at the celestial pole but at the ecliptic, the pole of the sun's apparent path. They are spaced at 30° angles in which are placed the twelve zodiac signs. The use of this system of co-ordinates, more suitable for a flat plane than a domed surface, may indicate that the paintings were taken from illustrations in a book and transferred to the ceiling without modification, as the constellations are placed one above another, row upon row, in concentric circles - a formula often used in manuscripts - rather than mirroring the heavens as seen from the geographic location of Qusayr 'Amra.<sup>46</sup> The signs and constellations appear as follows:

SIGN	ATTRIBUTE
GEMINI	Two men arms linked, dog following at their heels.
AQUARIUS	Figure wearing long shawl, holding vase.
SAGITTARIUS	Centaur, holds bow in right hand, cloth in left hand.
ARIES	Lacking.
LIBRA	Lacking
TAURUS	Bull (partly defaced).
LEO	Lion, (partly defaced).

VIRGO	Woman (almost completely defaced) only segments of robe remain
SCORPIO	Lobster like animal.
CAPRICORN	Goat (partly defaced).
PISCES	Lacking.
CANCER	Crab (partly defaced).

There are similarities between the imagery at Qusayr 'Amra, Beth Alpha and traditional Greek and Roman zodiac imagery.<sup>47</sup> The decoration of Qusayr 'Amra is influenced by Greek scientific models unlike Latin manuscripts which are copied from Roman sources, themselves copied from Greek models. The imagery used predates the great period of Islamic astronomical research and provides a range of motifs with which to compare later astronomical iconography.

We should start by investigating the range of signs available to Muslims. A chart of names in Babylonian, Greek and Sanskrit languages provides a clue to the attributes of some of the signs:<sup>48</sup>

	Babylonian	Greek	Sanskrit
ARIES	hunga (hireling)	Krios	Mesha ram
TAURUS		Tauros	Vrishā (Bull)
GEMINI	mastobba.galgal (great twins)	Didumoi	Mithuna (couple)
CANCER		Karkinos	Karkata (crab)
LEO	ur.gula (lion)	Leon	Simha (lion)
VIRGO	ab.sin (furrow)	Parthenos	Kanya virgin
LIBRA	zibanitu (horn, later scales)	Zugos yoke	Tula balance
SCORPIO	gir.tab (scorpion)	Skorpion	Vrischika scorpion
SAGITTARIUS	Pa.bil.sag ?	Toxotes archer	Dhanus bow
CAPRICORN	suhur.mas (goat-fish)	Aigokeros (goat-horned)	Makara sea monster

AQUARIUS	Gu.la (giant?)	Hydrokhoos water pot	Kumbha pot
PISCES	zibbati (tails)	Ikhtheus	Mina (fish)

From this we see that in Sanskrit Aries is a ram, whilst Taurus is a bull. In Babylonia Gemini was known as the great twins, an interpretation common to several cultures. Cancer is always known as the crab, whilst Leo is the lion. Variations of Virgo - whom we have seen sometimes in Islamic art as a woman holding ears of corn - may originate in a confusion between Babylonian tradition in which Virgo is named ab sin (furrow) and Sanskrit tradition in which she is Kanya (virgin). Capricorn is normally portrayed in Islamic art as a goat or ibex and is thus derived from Babylonian and Greek tradition rather than Sanskrit astrology in which he is a sea-monster.

Greek and Roman mythology considered the planets to be gods. Mercury was the Roman god who presided over trade, whilst in Greek mythology he was Hermes, son of Zeus, a messenger, protector of travellers, bringer of luck and patron deity of thieves and merchants. He was often portrayed as a young man wearing a wide-brimmed winged hat and carrying a herald's staff crowned by two snakes. He was a god of fertility. Venus was an Italian goddess who watched over ploughland and gardens, identified from early times as the Greek Aphrodite and endowed with her mythology. Mars was the Roman god of war and a patron deity of agriculture. Jupiter, the principal Roman god, was god of the sky. Saturn was an ancient Italian god identified with the Greek god Cronos, believed to have brought men to till fields and enjoy the gifts of civilization. Cronos, according to one tradition, was a benign ruler who presided over the Isles of the Blessed in the western ocean. Some Greeks incorrectly associated Cronos with time and thus depicted him as an old man with a scythe - Father Time.<sup>49</sup> We can see how Virgo (the virgin) could be portrayed either by ears of corn, vegetation or a woman, depending upon which tradition was followed. One can also see how Aquarius could be portrayed by a water pourer, an amalgamation of

the Babylonian giant with the Sanskrit water pot.

Baer deals with the iconography of the signs in Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art. She denies that the substitution of the figure of Virgo by ears of corn in the British Museum bucket and the occurrence of Leo as a quadruped with the head of a bird of prey along with the substitution of the two figures of Gemini by a human-headed bird is due either to 'haphazard choice' or to an adherence to the prohibition against showing human images. She points out that Gemini is represented by a human-headed bird in conjunction with human figures on a number of objects.<sup>50</sup> Islamic astrological texts sometimes show a bird as one of the attributes of Mercury; this tradition stems from Hellenistic examples in which Mercury is sometimes shown as a human headed cock. In Islamic symbolism, birds attributed to Mercury could be a cock, an eagle or a peacock.<sup>51</sup> She suggests that in some cases the planetary lord sometimes subsumed the zodiacal sign, thus on the Wade Cup the figure of Mercury shown in Virgo dominates and Virgo is reduced to a few ears of corn. In other instances the human-headed bird signifies for Mercury. She suggests that on some pieces, where Gemini has become assimilated with Mercury, one finds two human-headed birds, one for Gemini and one for Mercury. Gemini, as on the British Museum bucket, is shown as a single human-headed bird since the influence of Mercury has disappeared.<sup>52</sup>

On the Wade Cup, Venus is a male figure dancing in front of the scales in the sign of Libra while two large human-headed birds confront the central motif. The image of Venus as a man rather than a female goddess occurs in astrological texts of Indian origins in which Libra is depicted as a man weighing and measuring.<sup>53</sup> Also on the Wade Cup the sign of Aquarius has a large bird facing Saturn. In Sanskrit literature, birds are ascribed to this planet. The two human-headed birds in Libra may also stem from this source.<sup>54</sup> It may be that the depiction of the signs on Islamic works stems from a number of sources, the origins of which were as obscure to the makers of the objects, as

they are to us today.

The imagery may, in part, be a survival of Babylonian planet deities and their symbols, transmitted and preserved through the Sabaeans of Harran. In Babylonian mythology Shamash (the sun) is the king of the Gods, while the members of his court are Nebo (Mercury) the scribe, Minib (Mars) the god of War, Ishtar (Venus) the goddess of fertility and the dawn, Marduk (Jupiter) the determiner of history and Nirgal (Saturn) the god of the underworld and time.<sup>55</sup> Babylonian, Greek and Sanskrit astronomy provided concepts that influenced later astronomical theory. In Sanskrit astronomical texts each constellation was associated with a presiding deity who had to be propitiated at set times. This was later echoed in Arabic, Byzantine and medieval Latin texts.<sup>56</sup> While Northern India was under Achaemenid rule from 55-331, and thereafter, Babylonian methods of astronomy were introduced and a lunar-solar calendar was devised. Babylonian influence on Indian astronomy was considerable.<sup>57</sup>

In Indian epics such as the Ramayana and Mahabharata the planets through their conjunctions with the constellations, retrogressions and transits influence world events.<sup>58</sup> Babylonian astrological theory influenced the order in which the planets were grouped, with the sun and moon preceding the five star planets.<sup>59</sup> Around 500 BC the Babylonians invented the zodiac as a means of measuring time - a circle with twelve constellations each making a segment of the ecliptic - the imaginary path the sun appears to follow in its journey round the earth. It appears that astronomers in Babylon, Egypt and China arrived at this idea independently.<sup>60</sup>

Little is known about astronomy and astrology in pre-Sasanian Iran. Shapur I (240-270 AD) encouraged knowledge of Greek and Indian writings. The works of the first century astrologer Dorotheus were translated into Pahlavi<sup>61</sup> and were translated into Arabic by Umar ibn Farrukhan in the eighth century. Other texts also contain a mixture of Greek and Indian thought<sup>62</sup>. Al-Biruni states that these Pahlavi

manuscripts are the main sources for astrological material. The Zij-i Shah, the official Sasanian astronomical treatise was compiled and revised under Anushirwan (531-579) who encouraged Greek, Graeco-Syrian and Indian scholars in Iran<sup>63</sup>.

While the Umayyads had little interest in intellectual pursuits, the Abbasids displayed keen interest in such matters. The Abbasid capital, Baghdad, had been laid out on a site judged propitious by two astrologers under the Caliph al-Mansur. Harun-ar-Rashid came to power in 786 AD. Educated in Persia he was very interested in science and literature and supported scholars employed in the translation of Greek scientific work. Harun-al-Rashid's successor al-Ma'mun continued in this work, patronising Hunayn ibn Ishaq (died 873 or 877 AD) who translated many Greek scientific works into Arabic.<sup>64</sup> Al-Ma'mun also established the Bayt al-Hikma (House of wisdom) where scholars continued the translation of Indian and pre-Islamic scientific writings as well as classical works.<sup>65</sup>

During the medieval period an Islamic cosmology developed, representing a synthesis of Hellenistic views and of Quranic themes such as the unity of God and God as the source of all things heavenly and earthly. In the Quran God is described as having created the heavens and the earth, all crawling things, people, day and night, the wind, mountains, sea and so on (45,3: 2-5). In Sura 41 verses 9-12 we are told that he created the earth within two days, set mountains on it and created living things in four days, then turned the smoky heavens into seven heavens in a further two days. He created seven heavens and seven earths. (65 : 12 ).<sup>66</sup> The seven earths have been interpreted by Muslim cosmographers as the seven strata into which the body of the world could be divided horizontally, corresponding to the seven climatic zones.<sup>67</sup>

Greek and neo-Platonic writings were superimposed on Quranic beliefs as Muslim scholars became familiar with the works of Aristotle and Ptolemy. Aristotle in On the Heavens and On Generation and



Corruption divides the universe into two regions. The lower region, consisting of the elements of air, fire, earth and water was separated from the heavenly region above, by a sphere of fire.<sup>68</sup> The Roman astronomer Ptolemy describes the heavenly regions as containing the seven spheres of the heavenly bodies - the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, the Sun, Jupiter and Saturn - moving in concentric circles around a fixed earth. The planets exerted influence on earthly bodies, each of the seven planets having sovereignty over specific regions of the earth, and thus determining the fortunes of each nation. Good planets were Jupiter, Venus, the Sun and the Moon, whilst bad planets were Saturn and Mars. Mercury could be either depending on its conjunction with other planets. The Sun was the zenith, the Moon the nadir, Mercury the centre, Venus the west, Mars the south, Jupiter the east and Saturn the north.<sup>69</sup>

Ptolemy echoes ancient beliefs in ascribing good and bad influences to specific planets. Through the centuries planets gradually took on characteristics; the Sun is associated with royalty and nobility, the Moon associated with motherhood, through its influence on tides and so on. Mars, fiery red in appearance became associated with aggression and war, whilst Venus, was traditionally associated with love. Jupiter represented optimism and justice, whilst Saturn represented the qualities of practicality and caution.<sup>70</sup> As early as 235 BC astrologers were predicting the character of a child by the signs under which he was born.<sup>71</sup> The Greeks adopted these associations and at some point Jupiter and Venus came to be considered benevolent, Mercury was considered neutral and other planets possessed bad influences. The degrees of influence corresponded to the planets positions relative to the Sun and the Earth. The Earth was in the centre, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn were above, whilst Venus, Mercury and the Moon were below.<sup>72</sup>

Islamic thought was also influenced by Ptolemy's The Mathematical Arrangement of the stars translated into Arabic as the Almagest by Hunayn ibn Ishaq or Thabit ibn Qurrah in the 9th century.<sup>73</sup> The Almagest

described an eighth sphere of the heavens which included the fixed stars and the signs of the zodiac, surrounding the seven spheres of the planets.<sup>74</sup> Others would have preferred to have reduced the number to seven to conform with the numbers specified in the Quran.<sup>75</sup> Ibn al-Haytham added a ninth sphere without 'stars' imparting movement to the other spheres. This became generally accepted by all Islamic astronomers who called it the sphere of spheres. They retained Ptolemy's order for the planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon.<sup>76</sup>

By the ninth century, most of the major writings on astrology and astronomy had been translated. Muslim astronomers used astrology as a tool through which man would discover his own place in the 'cosmos'. In the ninth century, Islamic scholars began to develop cosmological doctrines concerning the relationship of God to man and the stages of being. They were also concerned on an empirical level with the development of encyclopedias of the sciences.<sup>77</sup>

Al-Biruni (973-1051 AD) wrote his Elements of Astrology in the late 10th or early 11th centuries. Ptolemy's influence is clear as the destinies of both individuals and nations are, it is suggested, influenced by the movements of the stars and planets.<sup>78</sup> Al-Biruni believed that the cosmos was spherical. Fixed stars determined the outer boundaries. The planets progressed inwards in the following orders: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon, whilst the Earth was at the centre of the four elements. The four elements composed heaven and earth; heat, cold, moisture and dryness. He did not believe in a ninth sphere. The signs of the zodiac are assigned the four elements of qualities as follows :

	DRY	MOIST	DRY	MOIST	DRY	MOIST
HOT	Aries	Gemini	Leo	Libra	Sagittarius	Aquarius
COLD	Taurus	Cancer	Virgo	Scorpio	Capricorn	Pisces

In al-Biruni's work the signs are divided into four groups of

three elements, called triplicities. The first triplicity consisted of Aries, Leo and Sagittarius. He links these signs together as they are all fiery. Aries represented the ordinary use of fire, Leo signified the fire present in minerals and plants, whilst Sagittarius represented fire distributed throughout the bodies of animals. Taurus, Virgo and Capricornus comprised the second triplicity concerned with the Earth. Taurus was connected with unsown pastureland, Virgo with plants lacking in berries or seeds and small trees, Capricornus for sown crops and large trees. Gemini, Libra and Aquarius formed the third triplicity which was light and airy. Gemini was concerned with sustaining and producing life, Libra caused trees to grow and Aquarius represented the destructive forces of the wind. Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces were connected with water. Cancer was associated with pure, sweet water, Scorpio represented turbid water, whilst Pisces stood for stinking alkaline water.

Al-Biruni also related the signs of the zodiac to the seasons of the year and stages of human development. Aries, Taurus and Gemini being changeable governed childhood, the east and east wind and the first watch of day and night. Cancer, Leo and Virgo were restful, governing youth, the south and south wind and the second watch. Libra, Scorpio and Sagittarius were considered to be autumnal, governing adult life, the west and west wind and the third watch. Capricorn, Aquarius and Pisces were hibernal and peaceful, governing old age, the north and north wind and the fourth watch. He has divided the circle of zodiac signs into four groups of three corresponding to the four ages of man, four seasons and so on, starting with Aries, since ancient times considered to mark the childish, new born spirit and the beginning of the zodiacal year and ending with Pisces, traditionally considered the eldest of the signs, marking the end of the zodiacal year.<sup>79</sup>

Sabaeen iconography may also have influenced the Islamic depiction of zodiac signs. The Sabaeans were members of a sect that flourished in Harran during the early period of Islam.<sup>80</sup> They worshipped

planetary deities following a manual of magic and astral science called the Ghiyat al-Hikma (Goal of Wisdom), written in Harran between 1051 and 1056 AD. The planets were seen as spirits who could influence a person's life.<sup>81</sup> Their temples had paintings and sculptures of the planets and they had seals and ringstones bearing depictions of the planets. Al-Mas'udi visited some of their temples and described in detail the paintings and statues of the planets. He speaks of Mars as a statue carrying a sword in one hand and a severed head held by the hair in the other hand. One temple had representations of beautiful women playing musical instruments obviously standing for Venus. Descriptions of Jupiter and Saturn seen in the temples accord with the attributes given to those planets in the Sarre Qazwini.<sup>82</sup> The Rasa'il of the Ikhwan al-Safa described the Sabaeen temples as being lit by candles and having statues of each of the seven planets made with the metal appropriate to the deity in question, eg. gold for the sun and silver for the moon.<sup>83</sup>

The Ikhwan al-Safa or 'Brethren of Purity' came into prominence during the 10th century. They were employed in the service of the Wazir Abu Abdallah al-Sa'dun, who was killed in 985 AD. They seem to have considered themselves as Sufis, and suggested that the ideal man would be of

"East Persian derivation, Arabic in faith, of Iraqi, that is Babylonian education, a Hebrew in astuteness, a disciple of Christ in conduct, as pious as Syrian monk, a Greek in the individual sciences, an Indian in the interpretation of all mysteries, but a Sufi in his whole spiritual life."<sup>84</sup>

Their cosmological creed was based on neo-platonic doctrines which recognised the cosmos as a series of emanations from a single source. They believed that heaven and earth formed an indissoluble bond and that the form of the universe (the macrocosm) is reflected in man (the microcosm); the Universe being moved by a Universal Soul as man is moved by his soul.<sup>85</sup> They found a correspondence between every aspect of man and the heavenly regions. They compare the body to a

city:

Know then and may God give thee aid, that the body of man was constructed by the Creator like a city. Its anatomical elements resemble stones, bricks, trunks of trees, and metals which enter in the construction of the city. The body is composed of different parts and consists of several biological systems like the quarters of a city and its buildings. The members and organs are connected by diverse joints like the boulevards with respect to the quarters.<sup>86</sup>

The elements of the body are analysed, again in terms of the construction of a city. They then relate the construction of man to the working of the universe. The nine substances of the body correspond to the nine heavens and are identified as bone, flesh, veins, blood, nerve, skin, hair and nails, lying one above another as the heavens do. The seven planets ruling the sublunary regions are identified with attractions, sensation, digestion, repulsion, nutrition, sleep and imagination, whilst the five senses correspond to the five moving planets. The signs of the zodiac correspond to the twelve openings of the body identified as the two eyes, ears, nostrils, nipples, mouth, navel and excretory channels.<sup>87</sup> Many other correspondences are drawn. Man's society is also related to the cosmos with the sun reigning:

The only relation of Mars to the Sun is like that of the head of the army to the king; that of Jupiter, like that of Judges and learned men; that of Saturn, like that of treasurers and lawyers; that of Venus, like that of members of the harem and singers; that of the moon, like that of rebels to the being who first obey him only to repudiate him and set up their own claim later, as the Moon gets its light from the sun at the beginning of the month when opposite it and then initiates its light and becomes like it in appearance. Also the condition of the moon resembles that of the planets and animals in this world in that the Moon begins to increase in light from the beginning of the month and reaches its perfection in the middle, then begins to decrease, dwindle away and disappear towards the end of the month. So it is with the people of this world.<sup>88</sup>

The Ikhwan placed the earth at the centre of the cosmos, followed by the seven planets, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, then the heavens of the fixed stars and finally the outermost sphere. The signs of the zodiac are located in this sphere which is divided into six northern and six southern signs and also into four parts:

1. Aries, Leo, Sagittarius - fire, hot, dry, east
2. Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn, Earth - cold, dry, south.
3. Gemini, Libra, Aquarius - air, hot, wet, west.
4. Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces - water, cold, wet, north.<sup>89</sup>

The Sun is accorded a central role: "God has placed the Sun at the centre of the Universe just as the capital of a country is placed in its middle and the ruler's palace at the centre of the city". Venus, Mercury and the Moon reside below while Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the fixed stars and the heavens appear above. The Sun forms the 'heart of the Universe'.<sup>90</sup> The philosophy of the Brethren of Purity exerted an influence on later philosophical thought, although the Ikhwan were a sect and did not represent the body of orthodox opinion.

Their Rasa'il were read by philosophers including Ibn Sina and al-Ghazzali and were translated into Persian, Turkish and Hindustani. The philosophical system of the Ikhwan provided a conception of the Universe central to the Sunni and a large number of Shia believers for over a thousand years. It influenced later cosmological writings and the arts using zodiac imagery.<sup>91</sup> While the prediction of events was a function of astrology in the world of medieval Islam, the cosmological role of astrology was of far greater importance as Muslims attempted to prove the dominance of heaven over earth and the unfolding of all creatures from a Unique Principle. The Ikhwan, in fact, rejected astrology as a predictor of events on the basis that this usurped the role of God.<sup>92</sup>

Cosmological books were produced containing diagrams of the planets, zodiac and constellations. The Wonders of Creation and Oddities of Existence ('Aja'ib al-Makhlugat wa Ghara'ib al-Mawjudat) written in Arabic by a Persian scholar Zakariya b. Muhammad b. Mahmud al-Qazwini (1203-1283 A.D.) is an example of such a book. It is in two sections, with the first part describing the heavenly realm, angels, the seven planets, the signs of the zodiac and the constellations and the second part the earthly world, including animals associated with

islands and bodies of water. It is organized in the same manner as the Rasa'il of the Ikhwan al-Safa and draws heavily on earlier cosmographies. While Qazwini's work did not add much to Islamic scientific knowledge, it proved popular with illustrators - copies being written and illustrated as late as the 18th century.<sup>93</sup> He describes the earth as the fixed centre of the universe, the heavenly spheres occupying concentric spheres around it. Like the Rasa'il it describes the system of government as being a reflection of the heavenly hierarchy, with the Sun as King and the Moon as Vizier.<sup>94</sup> As Badiée<sup>95</sup> catalogues the illustrations we can trace Qazwini's conception of the zodiac. Part one discusses the superlunar Regions in the following order: The sphere of the Moon, the sphere of Mercury, the sphere of Jupiter, the sphere of Saturn, the sphere of the Fixed Stars, the signs of the zodiac, the Greatest sphere and on to the inhabitants of the Heavens and Time.<sup>96</sup> The iconography of Babylonian mythology and that of the Sarre Qazwini have details in common. It seems likely that Muslims drew on the astrological lore of the Babylonians as passed down to the Sabaeans, the Greeks as transmitted through texts translated under Muslim rule and Indian lore. Through these three cultures, most of the planetary attributes and zodiac signs can be accounted for, and this body of knowledge was readily available to Islam.

A number of pieces decorated with zodiac imagery bear long inscriptions. A 14th century bowl and cover is the sole survivor of a type which Melikian-Chirvani suggests must once have been common (Cat.179, fig. 143). The bowl is decorated by inscriptions, roundels containing horsemen, a variety of wild animals and zodiac signs containing much the same iconography as previous examples.<sup>97</sup> Melikian-Chirvani suggests that the presence of the zodiac signs and their planetary lords should be treated as a conceptual rendering of the world, identifying the bowl as a jam-e jahan-nama, literally a 'world- showing bowl'. On the inside of the bowl a roundel is framed by two interlacing sets of twelve arches; within the roundel is a small

roundel enclosing an eight-lobed rosette framed by a scroll. Around it four geese and eight fish swim in pairs. Melikian-Chirvani says that they symbolised a pool or fountain illustrating the theme of the 'Fount of the Sun' (chesmeye khorshid). The pool, by reflecting the image of the world qualifies for the epithet 'world-revealing' attached to the bowl.<sup>98</sup>

The inscription on the bowl begins with a Shahnama hemistich

'the Creator of the world is my friend' ...  
May the Creator of the World be your friend  
May the head of the aster be by your side  
May your lot be in accordance with your wishes  
May the Lord of the Universe be your Guardian  
May your Soul be merry and your bosom be adorned ....<sup>99</sup>

The cover has further designs and good wishes. A tray made of brass dated to circa 1290 was made for the Rasulid Sultan Yusuf of the Yemen (Cat.167). The inscription on the rim reads:

Eternal glory, safe life and increasing prosperity and enduring state, perfect safety, long-lasting command and victory and perfection and honor and increasing rewards ... long-lasting command and growing fortune and happiest rewards and honor to him and health, long-lasting command and sublime honor and perpetuity to the owner.<sup>100</sup>

Other panels honour the sultan al-Malik al-Malik al-Muzaffer as defender of the faith and champion of the people.<sup>101</sup> In the centre a medallion contains a radiating disk decorated with a lion and sun while surrounding it are six medallions containing planetary figures. The lion and sun seem to supplant the enthroned ruler as a central motif. Other bands bear quadrupeds, hunting scenes and images of courtly entertainment.

A ewer datable to the late 12th-early-13th centuries and to Herat bears enthroned figures and signs of the zodiac<sup>102</sup> (Cat. 133, fig.107a-c). The inscription wishes prosperity, ease, leisure, good health and so on to the owner. Another ewer from Persia dated to 1181-82 is decorated with a lion and sun and signs of the zodiac (Cat. 125). The inscription praises the beauty and utility of the ewer and states: "Seven heavenly bodies, however proud they may be are protection for



the one who works so that kindness comes to him if he gives the ewer to a friend. Let trouble come if he surrenders it to an enemy."<sup>103</sup>

The inscriptions suggest that the vessels decorated with zodiac signs possessed a protective, talismanic function. For example the magic mirror of 1153 was credited with healing powers. The Chinese also used round polished bronze mirrors to protect the owners from evil, make hidden spirits visible and to guarantee conjugal happiness. If light reflected in the mirror was flashed on the bride, lucky influences would follow. In the T'ang period (618-905 AD) these mirrors were particularly common and were frequently decorated with signs of the zodiac.<sup>104</sup>

The examples of astrological imagery contained in this chapter raise some profound questions. Why does metalwork appear to be the major carrier of astrological imagery, or at least the medium that has survived best? Why are there so many astrological pieces attributed to the 12th to 14th centuries? Why is so much of the astrological imagery apparently restricted to manuscripts and metalwork?

We might expect to find astrological imagery on metalwork and pottery dating from the ninth century onwards on account of the Abbasid interest in astrology. Yet the earliest piece decorated with astrological imagery is the magic mirror of 1153 on which astrological signs are more explicable (given its purpose) than on the bowls, cups, candlesticks and ewers which largely make up the corpus of surviving pieces. Manuscripts tend to be later than 13th century. Pottery seems to have few astrological images. An exception to this is the jug in the British Museum collection (Cat. 59, fig. 48) datable to the late 12th century AD, which has each astrological sign enclosed in a pierced circle. Some of the early lustre ware might bear astrological imagery.<sup>105</sup> Later, very sophisticated minai ware was sometimes decorated with zodiac imagery.<sup>106</sup> Zodiac imagery does not seem to be part of the decorative repertoire for textiles.

In the earlier centuries of Islam, metalwork was relatively

rare, as it was also under the later Samanid and Ghaznavid dynasties. In the middle of the 12th century however, there is a dramatic expansion in the quantity and quality of inlaid bronzes being produced. Formerly cast pieces had predominated, as, for instance in areas under Samanid and Ghaznavid rule; this was related in part to the thriving Buddhist culture nearby.<sup>107</sup> The fine detail necessary for the representation of complex astrological imagery would have been difficult to obtain using a casting technique. In the second half of the 12th century and early 13th centuries, especially in Khurasan and Herat, but also in other parts of the Islamic world, inlaid work became common.

It has been suggested that previously sheet working had been used almost exclusively for silver, but around 1100 AD there was a change from sheet silver to sheet brass, due apparently to a shortage of silver in Muslim countries throughout the 11th century (by 1075 AD, the minting of silver coins seems in many regions to have ground to a halt). It was not for another two hundred years that silver returned to Iran and Afghanistan in any quantity.<sup>108</sup> Allan suggests that at least in Fars this would have had two results: firstly, sheet brass was malleable in a similar way to silver and would lend itself to the production of high quality wares by fine craftsmen; and secondly, a broader spectrum of society than ever before would be able to enjoy the fruits of this workmanship.<sup>109</sup> Indeed most of the pieces discussed so far are inlaid rather than being composed entirely of silver, yet by their very quality they indicate a demanding clientele.

One can postulate that inlaid bronze or brass as an heir to silverware acquired the luxurious associations of silver, therefore making it a suitable vehicle for the transmission of cosmological imagery and benedictory inscriptions. In addition one can speculate that metals were a particularly suitable medium for astrological imagery in that the metals themselves were associated with different planets, the same symbols standing for metal and the planets in

astrology and alchemy: Saturn and lead, Jupiter and tin, Mars and iron, the Sun and gold, Venus and copper, Mercury and quick-silver, the Moon and silver.<sup>110</sup> Alchemists were particularly active during the 12th century throughout the Islamic world.<sup>111</sup> Pottery lacked the monied and royal connotations of metalware, neither did it have the magical properties of metals. In its decorative possibilities it was restricted by the technical limitations of the medium. The jug quoted in catalogue entry 57, is on the whole, unsuccessful. The figures are clumsy and difficult to distinguish against the ground. Minai ware with its use of colour is more successful, but metal is a better medium yet.

Most of the vessels decorated with astrological images are in the form of plates, ewers, candlesticks and incense burners, as well as pen boxes. One wonders whether incense burners in particular had spiritual associations. One can also postulate - given inscriptions such as the one on the Tiflis ewer, quoted earlier - that an added strength was given to the common benedictory inscriptions by the inclusion of astrological signs.

Why were zodiac signs so popular in this period? One can approach this in a negative way by asking, rather, why they were not popular earlier. The ceiling of Qasayr Amra' depicted zodiac signs, so even at this early stage the zodiac was available as inspiration for Muslim decorative arts, yet in the early period this building does not seem to have been taken up and remains an isolated example. Even in the ninth century, by which time all the major scientific works of the Greeks had been translated into Arabic, one does not find astrological imagery used for decorative purposes. The zodiac becomes a feature in a much later building in a different part of the Islamic world. In the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Alhambra under the cupola is sura 56 of the Quran in which God as the Creator is praised. The decoration of the ceiling consists of six rows of stars and the small central cupola.<sup>112</sup> This room seems to have been used as a throne room with the throne

placed directly underneath the cupola. Grabar states that

... several secondary themes run through these inscriptions. One is the theme of an almost magical purification of the hall from danger: both at the entrance and over the axial alcove there are incantations to keep away temptations and evil. One may wonder whether this does not reflect some very specific, individual concern of Yusuf I or of his time, but what this concern or mood may have been can at this stage only be matters for speculation.<sup>113</sup>

Zodiac imagery only seems to come to the fore in the 12th century. It seems likely though that Sufi writings partly influenced the flowering of zodiac imagery on objects. The Haft Paikar, a major Sufi poem dealing with the zodiac and the heavens, was written in 1198 AD around the time of a number of the metalwork pieces. In Sufi poetry the lion, the sun and the dragon are often associated<sup>114</sup> as they are on metalwork and architecture. The palace of Timur described by Clavius in his Embassy to Tamerlane had an entranceway and numerous arches capped by the motif of the Lion and the Sun, described as being the armorial bearings of the former sovereign, deposed by Timur.<sup>115</sup>

Arabic and Persian poetry contains many references to the Sun as the king of the planets and the Moon as his vizier and successor. For instance, Firdawsī describes the rising sun as mounting its throne like a shah, or crowning the horizon.<sup>116</sup> Mu'izzī, the 12th century Persian poet, welcomes the monarch as the Sun and compares his Garden to Divine Paradise and his throne to the seventh heaven.<sup>117</sup>

Ibn Jubayr describes the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustadi thus:

He (the caliph) is a youth in years ... is of handsome shape and good to look on ... He wore a white dress like a quaba embroidered with gold, and on his head was a gilded cap encircled with black fur of the costly and precious kind used for (royal) clothes, such as that of the marten or even better ... His purpose in wearing his Turkish dress was the concealment of his state, but the sun cannot be hidden even if veiled ... This was on the evening of Saturday the 6th of Safar of the year 580 and we saw him again.<sup>118</sup>

The following pieces of metalwork seem to reflect the images of princely power as analogous to the radiant sun. On the lid of a pen

box in Bologna, Leo is a pacing lion with a radiant human-faced sun behind him (Cat. 152, fig. 123). The zodiac signs are on the outside and the planet signs on the inside and the centre is occupied by a princely figure with a sunburst crown seated cross-legged on a throne. As there are only six planets represented the prince is either a personification of the Sun or has assumed an astrological character as cosmic ruler. On the base of a Mamluk bowl in Florence, the outer medallions contain the signs of the zodiac, the inner six planets and a sunburst in the middle for the seventh (Cat. 169, fig. 136). The princely figure, pacing lion and radiant sun seem to have become interchangeable symbols.

A Syro-Mesopotamian basin now in Tehran shows an enthroned prince with two flying genii holding a royal crown above his head while two attendants flank him and two musicians play for him. Under the throne in the centre are a pair of lions. The signs of the zodiac frame the central picture (Cat. 165, fig. 133). A 13th century pen box from the Benaki Museum has six planets in the centre of the main hollow of the box revolving around the sun symbolised by a pacing lion with a sun disk suspended over him. Interlaced stars filled with radiant disks provide a background for the planets. The inner cover shows three medallions. An enthroned prince occupies the centre medallion, flying genii hold a canopy over his head and a pair of lions sit at the foot of the throne (Cat. 162, fig. 130). The remaining two medallions contain musicians and dancers. Similar imagery appears in the Indian manuscript of the Nujum al'Ulum where a sun with a human face and corolla appears in a grey background and a brown lion paces in front (Cat. 318).

The formal relationships between star symbols and the ruler apparently become more ambiguous in later 13th and early 14th century Il-Khanid metal objects, while on contemporary Persian brasses the signs of the zodiac and the planets disappear except for the sun as a radiant disk.<sup>119</sup> Ayyubid and Mamluk metal objects from Syria and Egypt

often maintain a complete planetary cycle.

Baer suggests that the first evidence of an Islamic interpretation of the cosmic ruler appears on a 13th century cylindrical box in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The inscription contains two verses by the sixth century Arabic poet Nabigha al-Dhubyani, composed for King Nu'man b. Mundhir Abu Qabus of Hira:

Seest thou not God has given thee eminence before which  
monarchs tremble and despair for you are the Sun, the  
kings-star. When the Sun rises no star will be seen.<sup>120</sup>

This poem is unique in that it is the only known example of a pre-Islamic poem being quoted on a piece of medieval Islamic metalwork. Furthermore, as Baer states, as it is contemporary with the majority of surviving examples of metalwork, it does strengthen the interpretation of the prince as the Sun of the World.

An incense burner of Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qala'un (1294-1340) is decorated with a sun disk bearing the first words of the Sultan's title: the rays of the sun are made up of his full range of titles. The inscriptions glorify the sultan in words such as this: "Glory to our lord the sultan, al-Malik al-Nasir, the learned, the diligent, the holy warrior, the defender, the protector of the frontiers, Nasir al-Dunya wa'l-Din ('protector of the world and the faith'), Muhammad son of Qala'un." In this piece, the implied symbolism in some of the other pieces is made explicit, the Sultan is the sun, the most important luminary in the Universe and the lesser planets have disappeared completely. Allan postulates that to the Sultan's officers of state, the incense burner would suggest that one was in the presence of the Sun himself.<sup>121</sup>

Ewers seem particularly fruitful sources of lion and sun or zodiac imagery. Allan points out that the Tiflis ewer (one example of several) is decorated with zodiac images and has a poem stating that the zodiac signs are protective in function (Cat. 125). He goes on to say that the repousse lion on the neck and the lion on the spout lid

must surely be seen as symbols of the sun. Extrapolating from this, a group of candlesticks with repousse lions must then also be seen as representing the sun.

"In that case, it is evident that these candlesticks sustain a tremendously powerful symbolism .... they symbolise in their decoration the sun itself, the source of the light of the then-known universe."<sup>122</sup>

I would like to end with mention of an extraordinary piece QW an Iznik plate showing the sun in the form of a round face with rosy cheeks and black hair, framed with sun rays like a bonnet (Cat. 84, fig. 71). In front of this sun face - a lion strides from left to right, tail down, ribs delineated, rather awkward almost caricature like in composition, with an oblong head and grimacing expression. The caricature like quality is enhanced by the rather flaring nose. The piece is datable to the end of the 16th century. The British Museum dish is one of two surviving dishes decorated with a lion and sun, the other being in a private collection.<sup>123</sup> The pieces are very similar - one being a reverse image of the other. Stencils were used in both cases to create the design.<sup>124</sup> Raby suggests that the images are purely decorative.<sup>125</sup> The round faced sun with rosy cheeks and animals striding past resembles images found in a 'magical miscellany' possibly from Constantinople, dated 1610 (executed by Armenians and possibly indicating a common source behind these zodiac figures and Iznik animal imagery such as this plate.<sup>126</sup> (fig. 232) One may speculate that the plate was one of a set decorated with zodiac designs.

Signs of the zodiac seem to have been used as decorative devices on metalwork to serve as magical, protective talismans, bringing good fortune to the owner or giver. The lion and the Sun, perhaps brought to pre-eminence through Sufi symbolism, seem to have become inextricably intertwined with princely power.

## CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSION

The examples gathered together in this thesis demonstrate that the lion as a decorative motif is found throughout the lands of Islam from India to the western reaches of the medieval empire in Spain. pieces range in date from the painted statue of a prince standing over two lions in the bathhouse of the eighth century desert palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar in Jordan, to the 19th-century stone lions found in the cemeteries of Iran. Its use varied from the complex astrological and courtly iconography of the Wade Cup, through to simple pumice holders and bath scrapers. In miniatures the lion is portrayed both in the folk style of the Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts and in the highly developed courtly imagery of the Shahnama paintings, and it also has a place of honour in zoological treatises.

Its symbolism varies from that inherited from the Byzantine Empire, such as is found on textiles and ivories, to the purely Islamic concept of the lion as an attribute of the Imam 'Ali, as found in the aforementioned cemeteries. In some instances, such as its use on Iznik ceramics, or on 16th- and 17th-century Persian carpets, its function seems to be purely decorative. In this concluding section I would like to summarize the various themes associated with the lion in Islamic art such as power, royalty, courage, mythology, religion, astrology and apotropaic significance.

The most widely represented use of the lion as an image of power is the theme of the lion-bull combat which has its origins in astrological lore. The use of this motif on towers and gates such as at Diyarbakr (Cats. 383, 397) and on monumental stone sculpture (Cats. 395-fig. 191, 396-fig. 192, 401) would argue for a well understood and important symbolism. It may have lost its original astrological meaning and perhaps should be re-interpreted as a symbol of regal or secular power, certainly throughout the area under Seljuq rule. It is found on a wide variety of media: metalwork, ceramics, textiles and



ivories. It enters the standard decorative repertoire on luxury goods such as metalwork and carpets, but also appears on humble ceramics and on everyday utilitarian objects such as bathscrapers.

The related theme of the lion attacking a gazelle or deer is also a prevalent image throughout the Muslim world. Examples range from one of the earliest surviving pieces of Islamic art - the apse mosaic of Khirbat al-Mafjar datable to before 743 AD (Cat. 378 fig.178) - to numerous examples of miniature paintings such as that taken from the Khamsa of Nizami dated to 1481-82 (Cat. 263) or the paper-cut from Ottoman Turkey dated to the second half of the 16th century (Cat. 405, fig 199) which shows a tree, beside which an outstretched lion grasps a hind, biting into its rear flanks, a very similar scene to the Khirbat al-Mafjar mosaic. This motif also occurs in other media such as metalwork, ceramics, textiles and ivory. It is not limited to a specific period or medium but is part of the standard decorative repertoire. Similar motifs are found in the centuries preceding Islamic rule in north Africa and the Mediterranean as well as further afield.

Tracing the sources and influences of such a common motif is well-nigh impossible. Its use in politically significant contexts, such as the apse mosaic of Khirbat al-Mafjar and much later in a far distant land, on the coronation robe of Roger II of Sicily (fig. 233), argues for a strong iconography. It is also used as a purely decorative motif, probably divorced from its original meaning, on the Iznik ceramics of 17th-century Turkey.

A related motif is that of the animal chase, particularly common on Islamic metalwork. The animals which compose the friezes found on metalwork are primarily those of the hunt, such as the boar, cheetah, gazelle, lion, bull and wolf (Cat. 103, fig 82). The Manafi al Hayawan of Ibn Bakhtishu says that "of all the wild animals, the lion is the strongest. Fearing no other animal, he travels alone..."<sup>1</sup> Many pieces in a variety of media show the lion attacking other animals. A 13th

century candlestick from the Sultanate of Rum or Armenia is representative of a genre which places bands of animals in an elaborate setting (Cat. 156, fig. 127). It shows the pleasures of the court and the animals of the hunt. Similar themes are found on a tray of around 1290 from the Yemen (Cat. 167). It too shows scenes of courtly pleasure and bands of running quadrupeds including lions, foxes, hares, gazelles, bears, bulls, sphinxes and an elephant. Pieces from 16th- and 17th-century Persia are decorated with similar themes (Cat. 190, fig. 150). We know very little about why animal friezes appear on metalwork and ceramics as a popular motif in the 11th to the 14th centuries. There is very little textual information available. One hopes that either more textual evidence will surface, or as a larger corpus of pieces is drawn up this motif can be read more easily.

The use of the lion as a symbol of royalty is multi-faceted in Islamic culture. The lion is considered to be the king of the beasts and is personified as king Pingalaka in the Kalila wa Dimna tales which are in the tradition of literature as political advice. The occurrence of the lion in miniature paintings forms a body of information from which the meaning of the lion in other media can be extrapolated. It provides both text, that rarity in Islamic iconographical interpretation, and also illustrations. The Shahnama is a work with royal overtones, full of heroes proving themselves through battles with lions. As a literary work it is an effort to construct an illustrious lineage for the monarchs described in it. Feasts, hunting and battles as well as other courtly occupations predominate. Epithets for the lion and for heroes show that the lion was feared and respected, its attributes of bravery and courage much admired.

The killing of lions is also seen as a ritual attribute of kingship as exemplified in the Shahnama by the account of Bahram Gur seizing the crown from between two lions in "How Bahram Gur Harangued the Iranians as to his Fitness to Rule, how they Rejected Him but Promised Him the Kingship if He would take the Crown from between Two

Lions".<sup>2</sup> Bahram Gur's bravery is thus tested, by killing fierce lions whilst on foot, armed only with a mace as a weapon. One man's bravery against the king of the beasts.

Miniatures often illustrate this episode in different ways and with a variety of iconographic details as we have seen. Bahram Gur is always shown on foot clubbing the lions. The image of one man killing lions is found in Byzantine textiles, as for instance, on a textile which shows the 'lion-strangler' in a frontal position holding a lion by the neck in each hand.<sup>3</sup> This theme is continued on Islamic textiles, as for instance, on the 10th- to 11th-century cloth from Iran (Cat. 426) where a hunter on foot strangles a lion and on the 12th-century cloth from Islamic Spain (Cat. 436, fig. 216). Similar themes of a man killing a lion on foot with a spear rather than bare hands, appear on ivories (Cat. 391, fig. 187, cat. 392, fig. 188).

Lions are seen in conjunction with thrones, as for instance in an illustration to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana manuscripts of al-Jahiz where one illustration shows a king wearing a crown, holding a drawn sword, sitting on an ornamental throne while two lions huddle at his feet.<sup>4</sup> On a 13th-century pen box (Cat. 162, fig. 130) the inner cover shows a medallion occupied by an enthroned prince with a pair of lions sitting at the foot of the throne. A basin from Tehran shows a similar theme (Cat. 165, fig. 133). The theme of the throne and lion continues until the 19th century as seen on the Qajar peacock on which Solomon is shown enthroned with two lion flanking the throne (Cat. 192, fig. 152). Of course the theme is seen in the contest of Bahram Gur seizing the crown in the Shahnama:

...Let us bring forth  
The imperial throne of ivory, and set  
The bright crown over its, then let us bring  
Two savage lions of the wood and, placing  
The crown between them, chain them on each side  
Then let the would-be Shah advance and take  
The famed crown from the throne of ivory  
Place it upon his head and sit between  
The lions as the Shah, the crown above him,

And under him the Throne, for we will  
have none else..."<sup>5</sup>

Two miniatures are particularly faithful to the text. A miniature from Qazwin dating to 1586 AD shows Bahram Gur wearing a gold crown reaching forward to club a lion on the head. The first lion strides, growling, chained to a post (Cat. 322, fig. 171). The second lion is also chained. Courtiers watch and a six-sided throne, high-backed with a canopy of gold lined with blue, has a gold crown placed on the seat. The other miniature faithful to the text is a Punjabi miniature of 1719 AD (Cat. 359, fig. 175). Both lions show traces of blood, the second lion displays evidence of chains binding it to the legs of the throne, which is six-sided, topped by an umbrella dome. Bahram Gur uses a bull-headed mace to club the lions.

The lion and sun motifs on metalwork seem to reflect the images of princely power as analogous to the radiant sun (Cat. 152, fig. 123) as seen on the penbox from Bologna where zodiac signs decorate the outside while planet signs decorate the inside and in the centre a princely figure with sunburst crown is seated cross-legged on a throne. The prince seems to be either a personification of the sun or has assumed an astrological character as cosmic ruler. On a number of other pieces, the princely figure, pacing lion and radiant sun seem to function as interchangeable symbols (Cat. 165-fig 133, cat. 162-fig. 130). The presence of repoussé lions on candlesticks, it has been suggested may legitimately be seen as representing the sun, as the candlesticks themselves seem to symbolise the sun, source of all light<sup>6</sup>

As an adjunct to royalty, the lion is used as a symbol of courage. In the Shahnama for instance, in "How Faridun made a trial of his sons."<sup>7</sup> 'Tur' is referred to as 'lion brave', his horoscope gives 'The sun ascendant in the Lion's House - A presage brave.'<sup>8</sup> In "How Faridun made answer to his sons"<sup>9</sup>, Shirwi is referred to as 'lion strong'.<sup>10</sup> In "How Faridun sent Minuchihr to Fight Tur",<sup>11</sup> the soldiers are described as 'all bold as angry lions'.<sup>12</sup> Warriors are also called

'Lions of the Shah.'<sup>13</sup>

Lion-monsters also feature as mythical beasts such as the lion-ape defeated by Bahram Chubina. We also find winged lions and sphinxes particularly in textiles in relation to the Tree of Life on burial shrouds. The derivation of the themes on textiles is very complex with cross-influences from Byzantine, Islamic and Far-Eastern cultures. The issue is further complicated by the lack of firm attributions and the possibility that some of the textiles thought to be Islamic, may in fact be fakes. The tree does seem to function as the Tree of Life in both Christian and Islamic contexts. The lion seems to feature as a solar animal. It may, also in the Seljuq art of Anatolia, show the continuation of ancient Shamanistic beliefs that the Tree of Life served to help the Shaman reach the sky, moon and sun, the lions functioning as guardian figures. If the textiles are indeed burial shrouds, then there would seem to be a shared iconography with funerary monuments where similar imagery is found.

The lion also seems to function in a religious context as guardians for the dead in Iranian cemeteries from the 17th to 20th century, perhaps representing the close relationship between the Imam Ali and the lion in Iranian belief, but also symbolic of the courage of the martyrs. The lion was also apparently of great importance in the Bektasi sect in Anatolia where the lion is called 'Haydar' and linked with Ali.<sup>14</sup>

The lion as an astrological symbol appears most often in metalwork. The pieces upon which zodiac signs are shown date chiefly from the 12th to the 14th centuries and are limited to a geographical area including Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. Zodiac signs can be interpreted as performing a talismanic function as evidenced by inscription in some of the surviving pieces. A Seljuq mirror, for instance of 1153 AD<sup>15</sup>, specifically invokes the zodiac for its healing and protective powers. Pieces such as the Herat (Cat. 133, fig. 107a-c) and Tiflis (Cat. 125) ewers, in their inscription wishing good

health, ease, prosperity and happiness, associate the zodiac signs with beneficent influences and the signs seem therefore to be used deliberately to this effect.

Given that a complex philosophy had been developed concerning astrology, as evidenced through the writings of al-Biruni and later in the 10th century - of the Ikhwan-al-Safa, it is unfortunate that no examples of pieces bearing the zodiac survive from this time, as far as one can tell from published examples. We know that the Artuqids, to judge by the use of astrological imagery on the coins of their reign and by its employment as a decorative motif on the bridge at Jazirat ibn 'Umar - had a specific interest and belief in the efficacy of these symbols.

Specific information concerning the intention which underlay the use of these symbols in other contexts is lacking. For instance, its significance on lustreware has never been examined in detail. Given that lustreware is meant to imitate metal, it is not surprising that it shares some of the same imagery and the images may have had the same range of meanings. We do not find astrological symbols on everyday goods, or on carpets and textiles which do, however, fall outside the period in which this imagery is seen on metalwork. They appear in a limited range of media and in a limited span of time. They occur in pieces provenanced largely under Seljuq domination at this period and become less frequent as other dynasties gain power. It seems likely also that part of the explanation rests in the development of Sufism as a major force at this time, as suggested by such works as the Haft Paikar.

Certainly signs of the zodiac seem to have been used as decorative devices on metalwork to serve as magical protective talismans, bringing good fortune to the maker, owner or giver, as for example on the Tiflis ewer (Cat. 125) where the inscription states that the 'seven heavenly bodies are there to protect and bring good fortune to the maker'. The lion seems to have an apotropaic significance in a

number of contexts. The presence of the lion mask seems to act as a protective device in many cultures including that of Islam. Several of the mortars it appears on have inscriptions wishing 'good fortune' as for instance on the mortar from Iran of the late 12th or early 13th century (Cat. 140, fig. 113) or the 13th-century mortar from western Iran (Cat. 155, fig. 126).

Vessels often also have inscriptions wishing good luck and calling upon God's blessing and protection, as for instance in a bowl from western Iran (Cat. 190, fig. 150). The use of the lion on incense burners and as sculptures may have a talismanic function, and of course, in some cases this is explicit as for instance on brass talismans decorated with lion motifs from Egypt and Persia (Cats. 194-196, figs. 154-156). Later examples of such a function include circular silver arm pieces using an image of the lion reputed to bring happiness to the wearer (Cat. 193, fig. 153).

The use of the lion as an iconographical element in Islamic art shows the adaptation of the inherited motif for its own ends. Some aspects such as its use as a zodiac motif, served the needs of a restricted clientele motivated by a particular intellectual climate. Hunting scenes, were, as we have seen, in some cases barely changed from Byzantine iconography, whereas in other cases they developed to a high degree to serve the needs of the new society. Thus the images of feasting and hunting in Iranian metalwork, or miniatures illustrating Shahnama scenes are a relatively new development. The use of the lion as a single image has a multiplicity of meanings from that of a specific religious context through to the pleasing decorative images found on ceramics. I have endeavoured to gather together a sufficient corpus of images of the lion in Islamic art to begin to identify some of the contexts and meanings in which it is used.

## NOTES:

### CHAPTER ONE

#### Introduction

<sup>1</sup>W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion, the Life-Cycle of a Symbol" Oriens Vol.7 (1964).

<sup>2</sup>O. Kürz, "Lion Masks with Rings in the West and in the East" Scripta Hierosolymitana (1972).

<sup>3</sup>P. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs (1985).

<sup>4</sup>The Jahiliya is the period between about 500 AD when the oldest poems on record were composed to 622 AD and the coming of Islam. R.A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs (1953) p. 71

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.pp. 72-133.

<sup>6</sup>A. el Tayib, "Pre-Islamic Poetry" in Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad Period (1983) p. 99

<sup>7</sup>See D.S.Whitcomb, "Islamic Archaeology in Aden and the Hadhramaut" in Araby the Blest (1988) pp. 177-259 and S.Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D." BSOAS vol 16 (1954) pp. 425-468.

#### Scientific Illustrations of Lions

<sup>8</sup>For information on Islamic Zoology, its history and influences, see S.H. Nasr, Islamic Science (1976) pp. 60-71.

Nasr, Science and Civilization in Islam (1968).

L. O'Leary, How Greek Science Passed to the Arabs (1949).

F.E. Peters, Aristotle and the Arabs (1968). C. Pellat, "Hayawan" Encyclopedia of Islam rev.ed. vol. 3 pp. 304-315.

<sup>9</sup>J.A.O. Badiée, An Islamic Cosmography: the Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwini (1978) Chapter 2.

<sup>10</sup>C. Pellat, "Hayawan" Encyclopedia of Islam vol. 3, new ed. p. 313.

<sup>11</sup>J. Stephenson, ed. The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-I-Qulub of Hamdullah al-Mustaufi al-Qazwini (1928) pp. ix-x.

<sup>12</sup>A.S.G. Jayakar, transl. Hayat al-Hayawan. A Zoological Lexicon, vol. I and II (1906-8). See also Nasr Islamic Science (1976) p. 66.

<sup>13</sup>O. Lofgren, Ambrosian Fragments of an illuminated manuscript containing the zoology of al-Gahiz (Uppsala, 1946).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid p. 29 pl. 25a.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid p. 30.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid pp. 35-37 pl. 17b.

<sup>17</sup>D. Stewart, Early Islam (1967) p. 131.

<sup>18</sup>Aristotle, The History of Animals chap. 7 book 3 p.59.



<sup>19</sup>Ibid book ix chap. 31 pp. 271-2.

<sup>20</sup>S. Stephenson, transl. the Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-I-Qulub of Hamdullah al Mustaufi al-Qazwini p.1.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid p. 27.

<sup>23</sup>Stewart, Early Islam (1967) p. 131.

<sup>24</sup>Stephenson, transl. The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-I-Qulub pp. 27-28.

<sup>25</sup>Jayakar, transl. al-Damiri Hayat al-Hayawan A Zoological Lexicon vol. I and II (1906-08) p.6.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid p. 6.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid p. 7.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid p. 11.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid p. 11.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid p. 15.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid p. 17.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid p. 18.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid p. 19.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid p. 19.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid p. 19 ff.

<sup>36</sup>Badiée, "The Sarre Qazwini: an early Aq Qoyunlu Manuscript? Ars Orientalis vol 14(1984) p. 102.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Lion Bull Combat

<sup>1</sup>W. Hartner, "The Earliest History of the Constellations in the Near East and the Motif of the Lion-Bull Combat" Journal of Near Eastern Studies vol. 24 (1965) fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid pl. 1.

<sup>4</sup>A. U. Pope, A Survey of Persian Art (1938) pl. 220.

<sup>5</sup>Hartner, "The Earliest History" fig. 4.

<sup>6</sup>H. J. Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions" Journal of Near Eastern Studies vol. 6 (1947) pp. 264-267. In Roman art this motif seems to be associated with death. For instance, the wall of a bowl at Ostici is decorated with a naturalistic lion, its right forepaw resting on a bleeding bull's head. See J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (1973).

<sup>7</sup>Hartner, "The Earliest History" pp. 5-7.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid p. 10.

<sup>9</sup>Hartner and Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion" pp. 163-164. C. Bunt "The Lion and the Unicorn" Antiquity vol. 4 (1930) p. 434.

<sup>10</sup>C. Hopkins, "Astrological Interpretations of Some Phoenician Bowls" Journal of Near Eastern Studies vol. 24 (1965) p. 28.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid p. xix.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid p. 34.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid pp. 34-35.

<sup>14</sup>Bunt, "The Lion and the Unicorn" Antiquity vol. 4 (1930) p. 434.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid fig. 10.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid p. 168.

<sup>17</sup>E. Baer, Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art (1965) p. 21.

<sup>18</sup>Kantor, "The Shoulder Ornament" pp. 264-267.

<sup>19</sup>Pope, A Survey of Persian Art vol. 1 p. 741.

<sup>20</sup>M. Dimand, "A Review of Sasanian and Islamic Metalwork in A Survey of Persian Art" Ars Islamica vol. 8 (1941) p. 199.

<sup>21</sup>P. Ackerman, "Some Problems of Early Iconography" A Survey of Persian Art chap. 38.

<sup>22</sup>P. Harper, The Royal Hunter (1978) p. 36.

<sup>23</sup>Hartner and Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion" p. 167.

<sup>24</sup>E. Kuhnel, "Some Notes of the Facade of Mshatta" Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of K.A.C. Creswell (1965) p. 138.

<sup>25</sup>Baer, "A Group of Seljug Figural Bas Reliefs" Oriens vol. 20 (1967) p. 114.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid p. 114.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid p. 115 - Baer postulates that the figure of the Caliph standing on the lions from Khirbat al-Mafjar - 8th C, suggests that the lion was regarded as an attribute of royalty or symbol of power. p. 113.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid p. 115, footnote 3.

<sup>29</sup>G. Öney, "Lion Figures in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture" Anadolu (1969) p.57. Fig. 78.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid p. 57. Fig. 79.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid p. 66

<sup>32</sup>Hartner and Ettinghausen, "the Conquering Lion" p. 167.

<sup>33</sup>Baer, "A Group of Seljug Bas Reliefs" p. 111.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid p. 111.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid p. 124.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid pp. 119-120.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid p. 120.

<sup>38</sup>Qazwini, *Athar al-bilad*, p. 483. Quoted by Baer Ibid p. 123.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid p. 123.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid p. 124.

<sup>41</sup>B. Brend, Islamic Art (1991) p. 13.

<sup>42</sup>I mention the carpets here because they contain specific references to lion-bull imagery, a more comprehensive discussion of them, placing them in the context on motifs found on other decorative arts of the time takes place in the section of the thesis "Lions in Association with Other Animals" which forms the second part of Chapter 3.

CHAPTER THREE SECTION 1

Man Hunting the Lion

<sup>1</sup>F.S. Bodenheimer, Animal and Man in Bible Lands (1960) p. 42.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid p. 88.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid p. 90.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid p. 43.

<sup>5</sup>J.M.C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (1973) p. 61.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid p. 25.

<sup>7</sup>I. Lavin, "The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and their Sources" Dunbarton Oaks Papers vol. 17 (1963) fig. 2.

<sup>8</sup>P. Harper, The Royal Hunter (1978) p. 33. Fig. 3.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid p. 33.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid pp. 35-39.

<sup>11</sup>Harper, Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period vol. 1 (1981) p. 68-69

<sup>12</sup>Ibid pp. 76-77. The provenance of this plate is unknown.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid p.77.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid p.40ff.

<sup>15</sup>A.U.Pope, A Survey of Persian Art (1939) pl. 218.

<sup>16</sup>S. Lane-Poole, A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages (1914) pp. 63 and 64.

<sup>17</sup>P.K. Hitti, transl. Usamah ibn Murshidh An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades (1929) p. 139.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid p. 223.

<sup>19</sup>The information cited in the following paragraphs is contained in Zaky M. Hassan, Hunting as Practised in Arab Countries of the Middle Ages (1937) pp. 1-14.

<sup>20</sup>Hadith of Sahib al-Bukhari, in M.M. Ali, A Manual of Hadith (1983) p. 313.

<sup>21</sup>Sir John Chardin, Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia (1927).

<sup>22</sup>Ibid p. 173.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid p. 182.

<sup>24</sup>W. Foster, Thomas Herbert. Travels in Persia 1627-1629 (1928) p. 81.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid p. 243.

<sup>26</sup>A.S. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World (1982) p. 362.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid p. 358.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid p. 358.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid p. 362.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid p. 362.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid p. 362.

<sup>32</sup>J.W. Allan, Islamic Metalwork. The Nuhad Es Said Collection (1982) p. 60.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid p. 61.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid p. 82-3 On the eve of the seventh of Jumada al-Awal (of the year 733/1333), the Sultan sat at the palace gate and the emirs approached one by one according to rank, bringing with them candles. When the first had presented the candle he had brought he kissed the ground and withdrew. The Sultan continued to sit there until their offerings were complete. The number of candles was 3,030 and their weight 3,060 qintat. Among them were ones over which much trouble had been taken, which were decorated in a very novel way, and with a great variety of embellishment. The finest and the best of them were the candles of the emir 'Alam al-Din Sanjar al-Jawali'. He took a great deal of trouble over them and had them made in Damascus. They were very remarkable objects. Then the Sultan sat on the eve of Friday, the eleventh of Sha'ban, the eve of the marriage feast, at the palace gate, and the candles were all lit. And his son the emir Amik sat before him. All the emirs approached. Each emir himself carried a candle, with behind him his mamluks carrying candles. They approached according to their order of rank and kissed the ground one by one throughout the night. Until, when it was the end of the night, the Sultan got up and went over to where the women kissed the ground one after the other, and each presented the splendid gift and the coins she had brought, until they had all done so. The Sultan then ordered them all to dance, so they danced one after the other, while musicians beat on the tambourines. All types of gold and silver coin and pieces of silk were thrown to the singers, and they obtained excellent things. Then the bride was conducted to her bridegroom.

<sup>35</sup>E.Baer, Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art (1983) p. 33. Fig. 23. Candlestick inlaid with silver and gold. Azerbaijan or South East Anatolia late 13th early 14th century. C. Jerusalem LAMM m. 65-69.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid p. 28.

<sup>37</sup>Pope, A Survey of Persian Art p. 726.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid p. 727.

<sup>39</sup>Melikian-Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World p. 224

<sup>40</sup>E. Atil, Art of the Mamluks (1981) pp. 53-54.

<sup>41</sup>R. Ettinghausen & O. Grabar, The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250 (1987) p. 151.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid p. 151. Fig. 208 from W. Caskel, Arabic inscription in the collection of the Hispanic Society of America (1936) p. 35-36.

<sup>43</sup>Pope, A Survey p. 726.

<sup>44</sup>J. Grigg, The Iconography of Early Medieval Oriental Silks (1978)p. 137.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid pp. 138-9.

<sup>46</sup>Hartner & Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion" p. 168.

<sup>47</sup>Grigg, The Iconography of Early Medieval Oriental Silks p. 174.  
No. 3.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid no. 158.

<sup>49</sup>Ettinghausen & Grabar, The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250 p. 159.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid p. 159.

<sup>51</sup>Grigg, The Iconography p. 174. No. 3.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid p. 187. No. 22.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid p.181. No. 12.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid p. 180. No.

<sup>55</sup>E. Grube, "Wall Paintings in the Seventeenth Century Monuments of Isfahan" Iranian Studies (1974) p. 520.

<sup>56</sup>K. Erdmann, Oriental Carpets. An Account of their History (1961) p. 32.

<sup>57</sup>M. Dimand, "Persian Hunting Carpets of the 16th Century" Boston Museum Bulletin (1971) p. 15.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid p. 18.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid p. 20.

<sup>60</sup>Ettinghausen, "the Boston Hunting Carpet in Historical Perspective" Boston Museum Bulletin p. 70, and Dimand "Persian Hunting Carpets of the 16th Century" Boston Museum Bulletin (1971) p. 19.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid p. 70.

<sup>62</sup>Ettinghausen Ibid p. 71.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid p. 71.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid p. 75.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid p. 75.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid p. 72-73.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid p. 72-73.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid p. 72-73.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid p. 73.

<sup>70</sup>A.M. Schimmel, "The Celestial Garden in Islam" The Islamic Garden (1976) p. 24.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid p. 25.

<sup>72</sup>Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth: The Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature" The Islamic Garden p. 48.

<sup>73</sup>W. Hartner & R. Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion, the Life Cycle of a Symbol" Oriens vol. 17 (1964) p. 167.

<sup>74</sup>A.U. Pope, A Survey of Persian Art vol. 1 p. 741.

<sup>75</sup>M. Dimand, "A Review of Sasanian and Islamic Metalwork in A Survey of Persian Art" Ars Islamica vol. 8 (1941) p. 199.

<sup>76</sup>G. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection (1976) p. 51.

<sup>77</sup>J. Rawson, ed. Animals In Art (1977) p. 9. Fig. 20.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid p. 9.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid p. 9.

<sup>80</sup>W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen, "The Conquering Lion, the Life Cycle of a Symbol" Oriens vol. 17 (1964) fig. 9.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid p. 168.

<sup>82</sup>I. Lavin, "The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and their Sources" Dumbarton Oaks Papers vol. 127 (1963) fig. 58.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid p. 236 and fig. 85.

<sup>84</sup>D.G. Davies and C. Saunders, Verulamium (1986) p. 16. Toynbee suggests that the owner of the house featuring this mosaic, as he was unlikely to have ever seen a lion, must have been shown the motif in an imported copy book. J.M.C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art (1973) p. 68.

<sup>85</sup>T.T. Rice, "Animal Combat Scenes in Byzantine Art" Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice ed. G. Robertson and G. Henderson (1975).

<sup>86</sup>Ibid p. 17 and pl. 6a.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid p. 17 pl. 6b.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid p. 17 pl. 6c.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid p. 18.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid p. 18.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid p. 22.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid p. 22.

<sup>93</sup>This has been dated by inscription. See Hartner, "The Conquering Lion Life Cycle of a Symbol" p. 164.

<sup>94</sup>Rice, "Animal Combat Scenes in Byzantine Art" p. 156.

<sup>95</sup>A.F. Kendrick, "Sicilian Woven Fabrics of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" The Magazine of Fine Arts vol. I. (1905-06) p. 37.

<sup>96</sup>Hartner, "The Conquering Lion Life Cycle of a Symbol" p. 164.

<sup>97</sup>E. Baer, Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art (1983) pp. 154-155.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid pp. 175-176.

<sup>99</sup>J.W. Allan, Islamic Metalwork. The Nuhad Es-Said Collection (1982) p. 44.

<sup>100</sup>A.S. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World (1982) p. 337.

<sup>101</sup>O. Watson, Persian Lustre Ware (1985).

<sup>102</sup>Ibid p. 43-46.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid p. 68.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid p. 88.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid p. 93.

<sup>106</sup>A. Caiger-Smith, p. 33. He further states that these pieces were almost certainly made for court circles and that the animals used - gazelles, peacocks, doves, fishes, hares and harpies - conveyed good fortune. Caiger-Smith, Lustre Pottery. Technique Tradition and Innovation in Islam and the Western World p. 44.

<sup>107</sup>Watson, Persian Lustre Ware p. 163.

<sup>108</sup>Baer, Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art p. 176.

<sup>109</sup>Watson, Persian Lustre Ware p. 24.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid pp. 25-26.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid p. 26.

<sup>112</sup>Melikian-Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World pp. 332-33 and 336-337.

<sup>113</sup>Watson, Persian Lustre Ware p. 163.

<sup>114</sup>For a discussion of the Chinese elements on Safavid carpets see S.V.R. Cammann "Symbolic Meanings in Oriental Rug Patterns" part 1. The Textile Museum Journal vol. III No. 3 (1972-1973) pp. 5-54; specifically pages 52-54.

<sup>115</sup>N. Atasoy & J. Raby, Iznik (1989) p. 258.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid p. 258.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid fig. 541.

<sup>118</sup>W. Watts, Works of Art in Silver and Other Metals Belonging to Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham (1936) no page numbers.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid



120OR 6471. The lion and sun are found on folios 41b and 42a respectively. The manuscript is catalogued in F.C. Conybear, A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library (1913) pp. 320-328.

121Atasoy & Raby, Iznik p. 258.

## CHAPTER FOUR - LITERATURE

<sup>1</sup>A. Dawood, A Comparative Study of Arabic and Persian Mirrors for Princes from the second to the sixth Century AH Ph.D thesis (1965) pp. 7-8, 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid p. 17. Also see A.K.S. Lambton, State and Government in Medieval Islam (1981 rpt 1985) pp. 43-45 for a discussion of the same material. F.R.C. Bagley in his introduction to his translation of Counsel for Kings (1964) discusses the history of this form of literature.

<sup>5</sup>Dawood, A Comparative Study p. 33-36.

<sup>6</sup>Lambton, State and Government p. 54.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid p. 54.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid p. 55.

<sup>9</sup>C. Brockelmann, "Kalila wa Dimna" Encyclopedia of Islam new ed., vol. iv (1978) p. 503.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid p. 503

<sup>11</sup>Translation by M. Minovi in A.U. Pope, A Survey of Persian Art, vol. 3 (1938-39) p. 1831 note 3.

<sup>12</sup>E. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, Fables from a Fourteenth Century Arabic Manuscript (1981) p. 57.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid p. 57.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid p. 58.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid p. 58.

<sup>16</sup>I have used the translation by I.G.N. Keith-Falconer for my text: I.G.N. Keith-Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah or The Fables of Bidpai (1885).

<sup>17</sup>Ibid pp. 1-62.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid pp. 26-28.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid pp. 43-47.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid p. 7.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid p. 7.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid p. 50-52.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid p. 1.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid p. 3.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid p. 3.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid p. 6.

<sup>27</sup>This manuscript is in the Bodleian library. Atil has analysed it in her book Kalila wa Dimna.

<sup>28</sup>Each of these miniatures is described in the catalogue to the thesis.

<sup>29</sup>Each of the relevant miniatures is described in the catalogue to this thesis.

<sup>31</sup>Keith-Falconer Kalilah wa Dimna p. 193.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, pp. 27-28.

<sup>33</sup>Robinson, A descriptive catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodlian Library p. 72.

<sup>34</sup>Keith-Falconer, Kalilah wa Dimnah p. 42.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid p. 47.

<sup>36</sup>Hourani, The Cycle of Miniatures in Arabic and Persian Manuscripts of Kalila wa Dimna produced before AD 1500 M.litt. (1979) pl xiii.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid pl. xxxii.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid pl. v.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid fol. 21b.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid s.p. 913, Fol. 63B.

<sup>41</sup>Keith-Falconer, Kalilah wa Dimna p. 51.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid p. 36.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid 51-2.

<sup>44</sup>Hourani, The Cycle of Miniatures pl. xiv.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid pl. xxxiii

<sup>46</sup>Ibid pl. v11.

<sup>47</sup>Atil, Kalila wa Dimna p. 28.

<sup>48</sup>Hourani, The Cycle of Miniatures pl. xiv.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid pl. xxviii.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid pl. xxxvii.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid pl. Lxi.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid pl. Lxii.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid folio 82b.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid p. 218.

55J. Raby, "Between Sogdia and the Mamluks: A Note on the Earliest Illustrations to Kalila wa Dimna" Oriental Art xxxiii (winter 1987-8) pp. 381-398.

56<sup>1</sup>H. Masse, "Firdawsi" in Encyclopedia of Islam vol.II new ed. (1965) pp. 918-921.

57A.G. Warner and E. Warner The Shahnama of Firdausi vol. 1 (1905) pp. 186-189.

58Ibid p. 186.

59Ibid p. 188.

60Ibid pp. 211-215.

61Ibid p. 212.

62Ibid p. 215.

63Ibid pp. 215-218.

64Ibid pp. 216-217.

65Ibid pp. 216-217

66Ibid pp. 216-217

67Ibid pp. 215-218.

68Ibid pp. 218-219.

69Ibid pp. 259-263.

70Ibid p. 260.

71Ibid vol. 2 pp. 44-46.

72Ibid p. 45.

73Ibid p. 45.

74Ibid pp. 120-121.

75Ibid p. 120.

76Ibid p. 121.

77Ibid pp. 292-296.

78Ibid p. 294.

79Ibid vol. 5 pp. 199ff.

80Ibid p. 123.

81Ibid pp. 124-125.

82Ibid p. 124.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid p. 124.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid pp. 124-125.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid p. 127.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid p. 130.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid p. 130.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid p. 402-409.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid p. 403.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid pp. 405-406.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid p. 406.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid p. 409.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid p. 410.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid p. 410.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid p. 21

<sup>96</sup>Ibid p. 21.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid vol. 6 p. 55.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid p. 55.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid pp. 74ff.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid p. 76.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid pp. 76-77.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid pp. 77-78.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid p. 81.

<sup>104</sup>W.L. Hanaway "The Concept of the Hunt in Persian Literature"  
Boston Museum Bulletin (.....) p. 22.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid p. 24.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid p. 24.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid p. 26.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid p. 25.

<sup>109</sup>Warner and Warner, The Shahnama of Firdausi vol. 6,  
p.12ff.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid p. 12.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid p. 16.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid p. 26.

<sup>113</sup>Ibid p. 26.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid vol. 8 pp. 322-327.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid p. 322.

<sup>116</sup>Ibid pp. 325-6.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid pp. 383-386.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid p. 384.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid p. 385.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid pp. 405-407.

<sup>121</sup>Ibid p. 406.

<sup>122</sup>There are surprisingly few English translations of this work. I have used one of the most recent: R. Gelpke, transl. and ed. Layla and Majnun (1966). This scene is described on page 126-129.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid p. 127.

<sup>124</sup>M. Simpson, The Illustrations of an Epic. The Earliest Shahnama Manuscripts (1979).

<sup>125</sup>Ibid p. 141.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid p. 146.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid p. 156.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid p. 158.

<sup>129</sup>Ibid p. 176.

<sup>130</sup>See discussion Ibid pp. 182-194.

<sup>131</sup>Ibid p. 194.

<sup>132</sup>M.E. Maguire, "The Shahnamah and the Persian Manuscript" Studies in Art and Literature of the Near East (1974) pp. 133-136.

<sup>133</sup>Ibid p. 134.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid p. 134.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Coins - Notes

- <sup>1</sup>J.O.E. Badiée, An Islamic Cosmography: the Illustrations of the Sarre Quawini (Ph.D dissertation, 1978) p. 48.
- <sup>2</sup>M.Broome, A Handbook of Islamic Coins (1985) p. 114.
- <sup>3</sup>S. Lane Poole, Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum (1877) p. viii.
- <sup>4</sup>N. Lowick, "The Religious, the Royal and the Popular in the Figural. Coinage of the Jazira" The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100-1250 (1985).
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid p. 172.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid p. 172.
- <sup>7</sup>H. Brown, "Some Reflections on the Figured Coinage of the Artiguds and Zengids" Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History (1974) pp. 353-358.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid p. 353.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid p. 354.
- <sup>10</sup>Lowick, "The Religious, the Royal and the Popular in the Figural Coinage of the Jazira" p. 160.
- <sup>11</sup>Brown, "Some Reflections" p. 356.
- <sup>12</sup>Broome, A Handbook of Islamic Coins p. 123.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid p. 126.
- <sup>14</sup>Atıl, Art of the Mamluks (1981) p. 128 and 215.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid p. 128.
- <sup>16</sup>G. Öney, "Lion figures in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture." Anadolu XIII (1969) p. 61.

## Lion Masks

<sup>17</sup>Kürz, "Lion-masks with Rings in the West and in the East" Scripta Hierosolymitana (1972) p.23.

<sup>18</sup>J.M.C. Toynbee, Animal in Roman Life and Art (1973) pp. 65-6.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid p. 66

<sup>20</sup>Kürz, "Lion-masks" p. 26.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid fig. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid p. 29.

<sup>23</sup>N. Pevsner and P. Metcalf, The Cathedrals of England (1985) p.28. This lion mask dating to the 12th century was originally on the north door.

<sup>24</sup>J. Rawson, Animals in Art (1977) p. 60.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid p. 61.

<sup>26</sup>F. Gabrieli, Il palazzo hammadita di Bigaya descritto da Ibn Hamdis", in Aus der Welt der Islamischen Kunst Festschrift für E. Kuhnel ed. R. Ettinghausen (1959) p.56.

<sup>27</sup>M. Aga-Oglu, Ars Islamica 1. (1934) p.183. Fig.3.

<sup>28</sup>G. Öney, "Lion Figures in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture." Anadolu XIII (1969) pp. 46-48. Figs. 19-30.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid p.66.

<sup>30</sup>Kürz, Lion Masks p. 32.

<sup>31</sup>P. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs (1985) figs. 30 and 56 respectively.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid p. 42.

<sup>33</sup>Kürz "Lion-Masks" pp. 35-36.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid p. 38.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid p. 39.



<sup>59</sup>The same doubts about authenticity apply to these later examples. See article in forthcoming Ars Orientalis.

<sup>60</sup>E. Baer, Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art (1965) p. 37.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid p. 37.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid p. 59.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid p. 38.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid p. 62.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid p. 65.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid p. 65.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid p. 65.

<sup>68</sup>T.W. Arnold, Painting in Islam (1965) p. 21.

<sup>69</sup>Ackerman, "Royal Personages on Sasanian Silks" p. 3078.

<sup>70</sup>J. Beckwith, Caskets from Cordoba (1960) p. 18.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid p. 18.

<sup>72</sup>G. Öney, "Lion Figures in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture." Anadolu XIII (1969) fig. 62.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid fig. 72.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid p. 63.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid p. 64.

<sup>76</sup>Baer, Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art, (1965) p. 68.

## The Lion as a Single Image

<sup>77</sup>Baer, Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art (1983) p. 58 & note 116, p. 316.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid p. 60.

<sup>79</sup>R. Ettinghausen & O. Grabar, The Art & Architecture of Islam 650-1250 (1987) p. 197.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid p. 197.

<sup>81</sup>G. Fehervari, Islamic Metalwork of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection (1976) p. 43.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid p. 43.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid p. 43.

<sup>84</sup>P. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs (1985) p. 13.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid p. 13.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid p. 14.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid p. 15.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid pp. 18-20.

<sup>89</sup>Grabar, The Alhambra (1978) pp. 124-127.

<sup>90</sup>R.H. Pinder-Wilson, "Rock Crystals" Islamic Art in the Keir Collection ed. B.W. Robinson (1988) p. 290.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid p. 290.

<sup>92</sup>The registration number of this piece is FB IS 12. It is described as a rock crystal mace-head in the form of a lion and given a 10th to 11th century date and an Egyptian provenance. It has carved palmette scrolls on its body and a cylindrical bore in the centre.

<sup>93</sup>Pinder-Wilson, "Rock Crystals" p. 297.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid pp. 297-298.

<sup>95</sup>Ettinghausen & Grabar, The Art and Architecture of Islam, p. 193.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid p. 191.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid pp. 196-197. It has been suggested to me by R. Pinder-Wilson that these glasses may not be Egyptian but that they might come from further West. Possibly, given that lions, eagles and griffins appear, it would be fruitful to analyse these designs in comparison with animals appearing on Hispano-Mauresque lustre-ware.

<sup>98</sup>Tanavoli, Lion Rugs p. 40.

<sup>99</sup>G. Öney, "Lion Figures in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture" Anadolu XIII (1969) pp. 43-67.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid p. 64.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid figs. 9-11.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid fig. 50.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid fig. 51.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid figs. 52-53.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid p. 64.

<sup>106</sup>Tanavoli, Lion Rugs p. 29. Lion rugs have taken over this symbolism in the 19th and 20th centuries.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid p. 29.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid p. 29.

## CHAPTER SIX

### The Zodiac and the Lion's place within it

<sup>1</sup>S.H. Nasr, An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines (1964) p. 75.

<sup>2</sup>Nasr, Islamic Science (1976) p. 11.

<sup>3</sup>E.Baer, Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art (1983) pp. 252-253.

<sup>4</sup>W. Hartner, "The Pseudo Planetary Nodes of the Moon's Orbit in Hindu and Islamic Iconographies" Ars Islamica 5 (1938) p. 115.

<sup>5</sup>The distribution of the night houses - Aquarius to Cancer, and day houses - Leo to Capricorn was not recognised in Hellenistic astrology, but played an important role in the medieval period. Ibid pp. 116-117.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid pp. 117-118.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid p. 118.

<sup>8</sup>G. Azarpay, "The Eclipse Dragon and an Arabic Frontispiece Miniature" Journal of the American Oriental Society (1978) p. 366

<sup>9</sup>Ibid pp. 366-368, also see discussion on etymology of al-Djawzahr in Hartner "The Pseudo Planetary Nodes" pp. 120-122.

<sup>10</sup>Baer, Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art (1983) pp. 249-250.

<sup>11</sup>J.O. Badiée, An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations of the Sarre Qazwini (1978) p.48

<sup>12</sup>Hartner, The Pseudo-Planetary Nodes p. 115.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid p. 119.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid p. 119.

<sup>15</sup>Azarpay, "The Eclipse Dragon" p. 366

<sup>16</sup>Azarpay "The Eclipse Dragon". The whole article deals with this miniature.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid p. 367.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid p. 366 footnote 20.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid p. 366 footnote 20.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid p. 366 footnote 20.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid p. 366 footnote 21.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid p. 366 footnote 21.

<sup>23</sup>Hartner, "The Pseudo-Planetary Nodes" p. 136.

<sup>24</sup>Badiée, "The Sarre Qazwini: an early Aq Qoyunlu Manuscript" Ars Orientalis vol 14 (1984) p.102

<sup>25</sup>Hartner, "the Pseudo-Planetary Nodes" p. 153.

- <sup>26</sup>Nizami, The Haft Paikar transl. C.E. Wilson (1924) p. 17.
- <sup>27</sup>Hartner, "The Pseudo Planetary Nodes" figs. 23 and 24.
- <sup>28</sup>O. Grabar, "Cities and Citizens" in The World of Islam ed. B. Lewis (1976) p. 97.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid p. 97.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid p. 97.
- <sup>31</sup>R. Ettinghausen, "The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Its Origin and Decoration" Ars Orientalis 2 (1957)p. 345.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid p. 343 footnote 28 bowl no. 54.4.55.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid fig. 40 no. 49.11.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid p. 348 and fig. 40.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid p. 349.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid p. 349.
- <sup>37</sup>Ibid p. 350.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid p. 365.
- <sup>39</sup>Ibid p. 362.
- <sup>40</sup>Ibid p. 365.
- <sup>41</sup>Badiée, An Islamic Cosmography pp. 48-49. Baer, Metalwork pl. 202.
- <sup>42</sup>Ettinghausen, "The Wade Cup" p. 338.
- <sup>43</sup>J. Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods transl. B.F. Sessions (1953) p. 160.
- <sup>44</sup>J. O'Conner, The Holy Land (1992) p.191. Fig. 54
- <sup>45</sup>F. Saxl, "The Zodiac of Qusayr 'Amra" in K.A.C. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture (1969) p.424
- <sup>46</sup>Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture 2nd ed. (1969) p. 289
- <sup>47</sup>Ibid p. 290.
- <sup>48</sup>D. & J. Parker, A History of Astrology p 13.
- <sup>49</sup>M. Grant and J. Hazel, Who's Who in Classical Mythology(1973), references throughout.
- <sup>50</sup>Baer, Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art (1965) p. 70.
- <sup>51</sup>Ibid pp. 72-73.
- <sup>52</sup>Ibid pp. 73-74.
- <sup>53</sup>Ibid p. 75.

- <sup>54</sup>Ibid p. 76.
- <sup>55</sup>Badiée, An Islamic Cosmography pp. 42-43.
- <sup>56</sup>D. Pingree, "Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran" Isis vol. 54 (1963) p. 230.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid p. 231-233.
- <sup>58</sup>Ibid p. 232.
- <sup>59</sup>Ibid p. 233.
- <sup>60</sup>Parker, A History of Astrology (1983) p. 12.
- <sup>61</sup>Pingree, "Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran" p. 241.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid p. 241.
- <sup>63</sup>Nasr, Islamic Science p. 97.
- <sup>64</sup>F.E. Peters, Aristotle and the Arabs (1968) p. 60.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid p. 73.
- <sup>66</sup>The edition of the Quran consulted is The Koran Interpreted transl. A.J. Arberry (1983).
- <sup>67</sup>C. Blacker, Ancient Cosmologies (1975) p. 147.
- <sup>68</sup>L. Elders, Aristotle's Cosmology: A Commentary on the de Caelo (1965) p. 13.
- <sup>69</sup>C. McIntosh, The Astrologers and their Creed (1969) p. 28.
- <sup>70</sup>Parker, A History of Astrology p. 19.
- <sup>71</sup>Ibid p. 19
- <sup>72</sup>Ibid p. 40.
- <sup>73</sup>Nasr, Islamic Science p. 97.
- <sup>74</sup>G. Sarton, Ancient Science and Modern Civilization (1954) pp. 43-50.
- <sup>75</sup>Nasr, Islamic Science p. 91.
- <sup>76</sup>G. Anawati, "Science", Cambridge History of Islam ed. P.M. Holt, et al. (1970) p.760
- <sup>77</sup>Anawati, "Science" p. 762-3.
- <sup>78</sup>H. Corbin, Avicenna and the Visionary Recital transl. W.Trask (1960) pp. 58-68.
- <sup>79</sup>The above information is taken from the E1, p. 230-1, thus conforming to the spring equinox as rebirth and the end of the winter equinox as death of the old year.
- <sup>80</sup>Badiée, An Islamic Cosmography p. 44.

- <sup>81</sup>Ibid p. 44.
- <sup>82</sup>Ibid pp. 45-46.
- <sup>83</sup>Ibid p. 47.
- <sup>84</sup>Nasr, An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines pp. 30-31. Taken from T. de Boer The History of Philosophy in Islam transl. E and R Jones (1933) p. 93.
- <sup>85</sup>Nasr, An Introduction pp. 67-8.
- <sup>86</sup>Ibid R. II 320 p. 99.
- <sup>87</sup>Ibid pp. 100-101.
- <sup>88</sup>Ibid p. 102. The translation used is not identified.
- <sup>89</sup>Ibid p. 76-77.
- <sup>90</sup>Ibid p.
- <sup>91</sup>Ibid pp. 36-37.
- <sup>92</sup>Ibid pp. 81-82.
- <sup>93</sup>Nasr, Islamic Science p. 36.& Badie, "The Sarre Qazwini" (1978), (1984)
- <sup>94</sup>Ibid (1978) pp. 14-19.
- <sup>95</sup>Ibid pp. 31-32.
- <sup>96</sup>Ibid pp. 31-32.
- <sup>97</sup>A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World (1982) p. 185.
- <sup>98</sup>Ibid p. 186.
- <sup>99</sup>Ibid p. 187.
- <sup>100</sup>E. Atil, Art of the Mamluks (1981) p. 62.No. 14.
- <sup>101</sup>Ibid p. 62. No. 14.
- <sup>102</sup>J.W. Allan, Islamic Metalwork. The Nuhad Es-Said Collection (1982). p. 44. No 5.
- <sup>103</sup>Ibid p. 46-53. No. 5.
- <sup>104</sup>C.A.S. Williams, "Mirrors" Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives (1960) pp. 272-274.
- <sup>105</sup>An example of this early lustre ware, see A.U. Pope, A Survey of Persian Art vol. 5 (1939) pl.
- <sup>106</sup>A piece of minai ware illustrated in Pope.
- <sup>107</sup>Allan, Islamic Metalwork. The Nuhad Es-Said Collection p. 13.
- <sup>108</sup>Ibid p. 14.

- <sup>109</sup>Ibid p. 14.
- <sup>110</sup>Nasr, Islamic Science p. 195.
- <sup>111</sup>Ibid p. 201.
- <sup>112</sup>O. Grabar, The Alhambra (1978) pp.142-3.
- <sup>113</sup>Ibid p. 143.
- <sup>114</sup>Nizami, The Haft Paikar transl. C.E. Wilson p.17.
- <sup>115</sup>Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane, Transl. G. LeStrange (1928) pp. 207-8.
- <sup>116</sup>Baer, Islamic Metalwork p. 272.
- <sup>117</sup>Ibid p. 272.
- <sup>118</sup>Ibid p. 27.3-274..
- <sup>119</sup>Ibid p. 267.
- <sup>120</sup>Ibid p. 270-271.
- <sup>121</sup>Allan, Islamic Metalwork pp. 24-29.
- <sup>122</sup>Ibid p. 53.
- <sup>123</sup>N. Atasoy & J. Raby, Iznik (1989) fig.777
- <sup>124</sup>Ibid p. 258.
- <sup>125</sup>Ibid p. 258.
- <sup>126</sup>The manuscript in question is in the British Library, OR 6471. The lion and sun are found on folios 41b and 42a respectively. The manuscript is catalogued in F.C. Conybear, A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Library (1913) pp. 320-328.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Conclusion

<sup>1</sup>D.Stewart, Early Islam (1967) p.131.

<sup>2</sup>A.G. Warner and E.Warner, The Shahnama of Firdausi, vol. 5 (1905) pp. 402-409.

<sup>3</sup>J. Grigg, The iconography of Early Medieval Oriental Silks, (1978) p. 137.

<sup>4</sup>O. Löfgren, Ambrosian Fragments of an Illuminated Manuscript Containing the Zoology of al-Gahiz (1946) p. 29, p. 25a.

<sup>5</sup>Warner and Warner, The Shahnama of Firdausi vol. 5 pp.405-406.

<sup>6</sup>J. Allan, Islamic Metalwork. The Nuhad Es-Said Collection (1982) p.53.

<sup>7</sup>Warner and Warner, The Shahnama of Firdausi vol. 1 pp. 186-188.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid p. 188.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid pp. 211-213.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid p. 212.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid pp. 215-218.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid pp. 216-217.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid pp. 218-219.

<sup>14</sup>G.Öney, "Lion Figures in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture" Anadolu XIII (1969) p. 66.

<sup>15</sup>J.Badiée. An Islamic Cosmography: The Illustrations to the Sarre Qazwini (1978) pp. 48-49 and Baer, Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art pl. 202.

C A T A L O G U E

## CATALOGUE: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### 1. Museums and Collections

A.M.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
B.M.F.A.	Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
B.L.	British Library, London.
B.M.	British Museum, London.
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
C.B.L.	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
C.M.A.	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.
H.M.	Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.
K.C.	Keir Collection, London.
M.M.A.	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
M.L.	Musée du Louvre, Paris.
M.C.B.	Museo Civico Bardini, Florence.
M.C.M.B.	Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna.
M.D.B.	Museum Dhalem, Berlin.
M.I.A.C.	Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.
N.E.S.	Nuhad es Said Collection, London.
P.D.F.	Percival David Foundation, London.
P.M.A.	Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.
S.M.B.	Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
V & A.	Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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## CARPETS

No. 1

Prov. East Persia or Northwest India

Date Late 15th or early 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lion head - talking tree

Descr. Fragment of carpet with a design of a talking-tree (vaqvaq). It has an elephant head, deer head with antlers, fish head, wolf? head and grinning cat head. The lion head is brown with pricked ears, red tongue and white fangs with a curling mane. The heads are all on thin curving branches.

Loc. Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris

Ref. Pope, A Survey Vol. 6, pls. 1772, 1733

No. 2

Prov. Northwest Persia (Tabriz?)

Date Late 15th or early 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lions hunting other animals

Descr. Fragmentary medallion and tree carpet. The central cartouche contains foliate designs. In the central field are animals hunting. Spotted quadrupeds bite the backs of other animals. Lions prowl after small spotted animals, striding tail lashing. The perspective of the lions is slightly distorted. They are not actually shown attacking. The carpet is very worn. The border contains Chinese dragons and spotted animals attacking quadrupeds.

Loc. P M A

Ref. Pope, A Survey Vol. 6, pl. 1129

No. 3  
Prov. Tabriz  
Date Beginning of 16th century  
Med. Carpet  
Motif Lions attacking other animals  
Descr. A multiple medallion and animal carpet. Two large foliate cartouches and a number of smaller cartouches are inhabited by birds. In the main field, animals are shown amid flowering trees. Lions lie confronted, heads up. They appear to be talking. There are some very Chinese looking lions. Spotted creatures attack ibex and lions attack spotted cloven hoofed creatures. The lions seem to be wearing bands near neck and back haunches. They also attack black horned creatures, which may be bulls. Others attack white bovine animals. The Chinese style lions are not shown attacking.

Loc. V & A

Ref. Pope, A Survey Vol. 6, pl. 1130, 1131

No. 4  
Prov. Persian, Tabriz  
Date early 16th century  
Med. Carpet  
Motif Lions and other animals  
Descr. A multiple medallion and animal carpet. It has a vase held up on a throne-like base, one lion squats underneath at the centre, while one supports it at each side, they are slightly geometric looking lions. There are ponds with fishes and a Chinese style lion, very thin, almost in a

bifurcated pose with legs splayed on either side from the central face. The tree is a fruit tree. A detail reveals a spotted quadruped attacking a spotted creature. The quadruped is lion-like.

Loc. V & A  
Ref. Pope, A Survey Vol.6, pls. 1130, 1131, 1132

No. 5  
Prov. Northwest Persia  
Date Early 16th century  
Med. Carpet  
Motif Lions and other animals  
Descr. Medallion and tree carpet. The central medallion contains fantastical birds. The field has smaller cartouches of fantastical designs. It also contains animals including deer, bulls, spotted deer, foxes, fantastical elongated four legged creatures with long necks and long thick tails. There are lions with tasselled tails, long claws and wrinkled faces. Some of the animals are lying down. There are more conventional lions lying down and standing snarling, tails waving. All set among cypress trees and other vegetation. There are winged figures at each of the four corners.

Loc. (Former) Collection Mr Clarence Mackay (Los Angelese County Museum)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey Vol.6, pl.1128

No. 6  
Prov. Tabriz  
Date 1st third 16th century



Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions? and other animals  
 Descr. Medallion, tree and animal carpet. The borders are executed in floral and foliate designs. The central cartouche contains a geometrical scroll design. In the field are cypress trees, floral plants and small birds. Quadrupeds walk through, they may be lions or cheetahs, the markings are faint. There are two seated quadrupeds.  
 Loc. Collection Johann zu Schwarzenberg (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1203

No. 7  
 Prov. Iran  
 Date 1522-1523 or 1542-1543  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions being hunted  
 Descr. Medallion and animal carpet. Central eight pointed medallion with cartouche giving date and name of maker: Ghiyath ad-Din Jami. Central medallion in red contains Chinese flying cranes and cloud bands, background floral scrolls. Blue field, symmetrical composition hunting scenes. Mounted huntsmen, hunt deer with swords, bows and arrows, hunters on foot attack lions. In one case, lion has leapt at man and is biting him in the midriff, grasps lion's neck with left hand, holds dagger in right hand.  
 Loc. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, vol.6, pl. 1118.

No. 8  
 Prov. East Persia

Date 2nd quarter 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions hunting other animals  
 Descr. Section of floral and animal carpet. The border has foliate designs and possibly animal heads on stalks. In the main field, lions stalk. Spotted quadrupeds attack the backs of horned ibex which are also spotted. Dark lion like creatures attack large spotted bovine animals, biting the top of the spine. The animals are twisted in an impossible position. There are horned deer and birds.  
 Loc. Estate of Mrs Rockefeller McCormick (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1174

No. 9  
 Prov. Tabriz  
 Date 2nd quarter of 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions and other animals  
 Descr. Section of medallion and tree carpet with animals. There are green cypresses, brown trees with pink blossoms, cranes with long tails, male and female lions. The male lion is prowling through the trees to the lioness. A spotted leopard is seated, growling. The border has foliate and bird designs.  
 Loc. Musee des Arts Decoratifs, Paris  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1140

No. 10  
 Prov. Tabriz  
 Date 2nd quarter 16th century

Med. Carpet  
 Motif Men, lions and other animals  
 Descr. Medallion and tree carpet with personages, in fragments. On the lower right personages are talking and sitting in an enclosed and canopied carpeted section. The rest of the carpet has trees and animals including a striped tiger attacking a bull. Other animals graze and rest. A lion, very Chinese looking, looks back over its shoulder. It has a light brown mane and scrolled and tasseled tail. There is a very thin wing-like flame emanating from its shoulder.

Loc. Collection Baron Hatveny (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl. 1141

No. 11  
 Prov. Iran, Kashan  
 Date 2nd quarter 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lion being hunted  
 Descr. Medallion and animal carpet. Central medallion with cartouche and pendant at each end. Medallion and corner sections, panther-dragon and pheonix in combat. Light green field symmetrical composition of hunters attacking deer with swords, bows and arrows; attacking hares with maces. Horses black, white or spotted. Hunter fights lion with bare hands. Men feasting in borders.

Loc. Boston Museum of Fine Arts  
 Ref. Dimand, Boston Museum Bulletin, figs. 1-8.

No. 12  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 2nd quarter 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lions and other animals

Descr. Multiple medallion and animal carpet, fragmentary. The cartouches are bird inhabited. Spotted creatures bite cloven-hoofed quadrupeds. A tiger bites a horned quadruped. Two creatures, possibly lions, are seated opposed, looking at a river. They have lion-like faces, haunches tails, but are rather small. The corner scene has birds, Chinese dragons, leopards and tigers biting quadrupeds and a lion lying down.

Loc. Museo Civico Bardini, Florence

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1144

No. 13

Prov. East Persia

Date Mid 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lion and bull combat, with other animals

Descr. A floral and animal carpet in fragmentary condition. Cheetahs or leopards attack horned spotted ibex. A tiger prowls, as does a long horned quadruped. A lion attacks a large spotted bull, biting the top of the spine near the neck. The lion is shown on the bull's back, with its back to viewer and its head turned. A smaller lion attacks a darker spotted animal.

Loc. Possession Kelekian

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1176

No. 14

prov. East Persia  
 Date Mid 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions attacking other animals  
 descr. Section of floral and animal carpet. Three floral borders. Centre field has Chinese dragons (?) or serpents(?). Lions attack large pale spotted cows or bulls, biting at the back of the spine near the tail. There are also small dog-like quadrupeds and spotted cheetahs or leopards and horned, spotted ibex.  
 Loc. Formerly possession Bohler  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl. 1175

No. 15  
 Prov. Tabriz? Northwest Persia  
 Date Second half of 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lion - bull combat, with other animals  
 descr. A medallion, tree and animal carpet. The central cartouche has a foliate design and seems to be inhabited by four indistinct animals. The floral and foliate border is inhabited by birds. The carpet has Chinese type lions, spotted deer and more naturalistic lions attacking spotted white bulls. They leap on the backs of the bulls, attacking the base of the spine. The lions are big, with powerfully marked haunches and manes.  
 Loc. Musée des Tissus, Lyons  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl. 1150

No. 16  
 Prov. Northwest Persia

Date 2nd half of 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lion - bull combat, with other animals  
 Descr. A medallion and animal carpet. The central cartouche has a foliate design. Animals in various colours appear amid a foliate ground. There are deer, leopards or cheetahs, bull like creatures and small quadrupeds. Lions attack bulls which are black with light spots, at the base of the spine near the tail. They have landed full on the backs of the bulls. There are small humped boar like creatures.  
 Loc. Collection Joseph Widener (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl. 1148

No. 17  
 Prov. Tabriz  
 Date 2nd half of 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lion - bull combat, with other animals  
 Descr. A medallion and animal carpet, with personages. The central cartouche contains winged humans and non-winged humans and trees. The animals appear in the main field. Lions attack white bulls while smaller animals such as boars and jackals scamper. The lions leap on the bull and attack the bottom of the spine, while the bull arches up. The lions are standing on their rear haunches. There are other spotted animals which may be spotted horned deer or ibex.  
 Loc. Musée des Tissus, Lyons  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1151

No. 18

Prov. Kashan  
 Date 2nd half 16th century  
 Med. Silk carpet  
 Motif Man hunting lion  
 Descr. This section of a silk hunting carpet has foliate borders and a border with winged figures. The portion of the central scene shows men on horseback hunting small horned quadrupeds including deer and jackels with swords and spears. A lion rearing is just visible at the edge of the section. The lion is being killed by a rider on horseback. Another photograph shows that this is a detail above the central medallion. The lion appears to be biting the riders thigh. The rider holds onto the lion's mane with both hands.  
 Loc. Museum fur Kunst und Industrie, Vienna  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pls. 1191, 1192

No. 19  
 Prov. Tabriz  
 Date 2nd half 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions and other animals  
 Descr. A medallion and animal carpet. The cartouches around the border contain script. The cartouches in the corners contain fishes and prowling quadrupeds. The cartouches in the corners may contain rather Chinese looking lions. They have flame like tails. Spotted animals bite the necks of horned ibex. Tigers prowl as do animals which may be lions, although the jaws are unnaturally long and there seems to be a hump where one would expect the mane to be. The central cartouche contains dragon-like creatures and

scrolls along with script. A lion-like creature attacks a spotted, barely visible creature.

Loc. M M A

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1153

No. 20

Prov. Tabriz

Date 2nd half 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lions and other animals

Descr. Medallion and animal carpet. The border has cartouches with inscriptions. The central cartouche has a bird and foliate design. The field is inhabited by animals. Lions stride tails lashing, mouths open. There are striped tigers and spotted deer with long horse and other smaller animals. White spotted quadrupeds attack ibex or other horned animals, biting the back of the spine.

Loc. McIlhenny Collection (formerly)

Ref. Pope, A Survey Vol. 6, pl. 1152

No. 21

Prov. Northwest Persia

Date mid 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lions attacking other animals

Descr. A carpet decorated with animal combat scenes. Three foliate borders surround central ground showing lions attacking spotted, dark antlered deer. There are five



pairs. The lions are light coloured with long manes. They bite the back haunches of the deer which are lying on their backs, with the lion curved round them. Tigers in pairs stalk and in some cases attack deer on the other side of the carpet to the lions. There are also small quadrupeds and wild boars or dogs.

Loc. M M A

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1177

No. 22

Prov. Tabriz

Date Second half 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lions attacking other animals

Descr. There are two foliate borders and a narrow inner border containing an inscription. There is a central vase cartouche with Chinese dragons. Two winged figures with Chinese faces occupy the ground as well as a pair of confronted lions. Four other lions? seem to be attacking spotted deer. On the upper part of the carpet tigers play and there are long spotted winged dragons.

Loc. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1154

No. 23

Prov. Kashan

Date Middle or second half 16th century

Med. Silk carpet

Motif Lions attacking other animals

Descr. A silk animal carpet. The borders are inhabited by clouds,

birds and foliate-floral designs. The field shows animals being hunted. Spotted quadrupeds are attacked by lions, mid spine. The lions have long manes, large claws and waving tails. Lion-like Chinese type creatures also attack quadrupeds. They have flame eyebrows and tassellated tails and attack in the mid spine as do the lions. Lions attack fat horned cows. Cheetahs and tigers also hunt. Small jackals, hares and some fantastical creatures run through the landscape.

Loc. M M A

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1199

No. 24

Prov. Kashan

Date Middle or second half 16th century

Med. Silk carpet

Motif Lions? killing other animals

Descr. Silk medallion and animal carpet. Animals and birds inhabit the border. The ground contains quadrupeds being killed, and birds. The animals may be killed by lions. It is very indistinct, but they are the right shape for lions and there are some indications of manes. The central medallion is inhabited by birds.

Loc. Gulbenkian Collection

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1200

No. 25

Prov. Tabriz

Date Middle or late 16th century

Med. Carpet

Motif            Lions and other animals

Descr.          Multiple medallion and animal carpet, fragment. The fragment has bird and animal inhabited cartouches. Two cartouches are inhabited by vaguely bovine creatures with flame tails and faces. Two lions outside the cartouches, pad towards them as they look back. The lions are open-mouthed and snarling, with short curly ruffs for manes. Spotted leopards attack two deer or cow like creatures. Winged figures are seated in the corners. Along with small creatures and foliate-floral designs.

Loc.            V & A

Ref.            Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1142

No.            26

Prov.           Kashan

Date           3rd quarter 16th century

Med.           Carpet

Motif           Lion - bull combat, with other animals

Descr.          Silk medallion and animal carpet. the central cartouche contains quadrupeds and spotted horned bovine creatures. The field shows lions grappling with bulls, claws extended biting the mid-spine area. Lions also attack deer and spotted bulls.

Loc.           Polish Government. Villa Willamore, Warsaw

Ref.           Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1195

No.            27

Prov.           Kashan

Date           Third quarter 16th century

Med.           Silk carpet

Motif            Men killing lions

Descr.           A fawn and burgundy carpet with floral and foliate borders and a foliate central medallion. The ground shows a long horned ibex and strange fish-like creatures. Several men are killing lions by sticking daggers down the animals throats.

Loc.             Royal Palace, Stockholm

Ref.             Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pls. 1193, 1194

No.              28

Prov.             Kirman

Date              Late 16th century

Med.              Carpet

Motif             Lions and other animals

Descr.           A medallion and animal carpet. The border is inhabited by quadrupeds, biting spotted ass-like quadrupeds in the rear, these may possibly be lions. In the centre, lions snarl at ibexes.

Loc.              Collection Myron C Taylor (former)

Ref.              Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1205.

No.              29

Prov.             Kirman?

Date              Late 16th century

Med.              Carpet

Motif             Men attacking lions

Descr.           A blue red and yellow medallion animal and hunting carpet. In the borders are spotted dragon-like creatures, striped black tigers with yellow stripes which attack ass-like quadrupeds. There are birds and winged figures in the

corners. In the centre in the corners are men hunting on horseback. One stabs a lion-like creature. The lions? have forked tails and attack horned quadrupeds, there are brown tigers striped in blue. The lions are yellow, some of them curl up and snarl. There are more winged figures in the central cartouche.

Loc. Collection Prince Roman Sanguszko (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1206

No. 30  
 Prov. Kirman(?)  
 Date Late 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lion - bull or deer combat, with other animals  
 Descr. A medallion and animal carpet. The border is inhabited by quadrupeds killing ass-like animals. The centre field shows lions felling spotted bulls or deer. They bite the back of the spine near the tail. The deer or bulls wander free in other parts. There are cartouches of birds and some gazelles. In the corners are spotted dragons and long tailed birds.

Loc. Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1207

No. 31  
 Prov. Kirman(?)  
 Date Late 16th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions attacking other animals  
 Descr. A medallion and animal carpet with personages in

fragmentary condition. The border shows lions(?) attacking dark ass or bull-like animals with light spots, biting near tail. Lions appear to have manes and powerful haunches. In the centre and corners are winged figures. Among the animals in the centre deer are attacked by spotted quadrupeds. Asses or horses are attacked by tigers.

Loc. V & A  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1208.

No. 32  
Prov. Kashan  
Date Late 16th century  
Med. Carpet  
Motif Lions attacking other animals  
Descr. A fragment of an animal carpet. Three foliate cartouches and an inner cartouche inhabited by fantastical winged animals. Lions possibly are killing spotted quadrupeds. Part of the lion, the front portion and mane and head of the bull are shown. Another lion is shown in full, killing a bull, biting it near its haunch. One foot is on the bull's head, the others rest on its haunch. The powerful lion looks bigger than the bull.

Loc. Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1198.

No. 33  
Prov. Northwest Persia  
Date Late 16th century  
Med. Carpet  
Motif Lions attacking other animals

descr.        Section of medallion and tree carpet. The medallion in the centre is occupied by fiery Chinese style dragons. Animals graze, men play musical instruments. Lions attack deer and horned creatures, they leap on the back and bite the neck or leap on the underbelly on animals shown upside down and bite neck. They are set amid cypress trees and other foliage, birds and hares appear. On the outer border there are dragons and fantastical birds.

Loc.            M L

Ref.            Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl. 1127.

No.             34

Prov.           Kirman(?)

Date            Late 16th century

Med.            Carpet

Motif           Lions and other animals

Descr.        A compartment carpet with personages. Dragon-like spotted creatures wrestle in cartouches. In the centre are medallions inhabited by humans, birds, spotted gazelles galloping and other spotted quadrupeds. At the top, two lions with straight lines for manes and knotted tails, glare down.

Loc.            Collection Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury (former)

Ref.            Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1209

No.             35

Prov.           Northwest Persia(?)

Date            Late 16th or early 17th century

Med.            Carpet

Motif           Lions and other animals

descr. Animal carpet, incomplete. Foliate cartouche border. Animals include green and orange deer, with multicoloured spots and short antlers and wild pigs. A tiger attacks a white bull with red spots. There are several small black quadrupeds with light bellies and tasseled tails. A leopard attacks a horned animal. In the upper right corner a tawny-maned lion strolls, there is another one further down. On the left edge, two animals which may be lions bite spotted dark bull-like creatures at the top of the spine. In the centre is a green writhing dragon.

Loc. Collection Mr John D Rockefeller Jr (former)

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1182.

No. 36

Prov. Northwest Persia

Date Late 16th early 17th century

Med. Carpet

Motif Lion - bull combat, with other animals

Descr. A medallion and animal carpet. The borders are made up of foliate and cartouch designs and there is a central foliate cartouche. The field shows animals, birds, ibex and a lion attacking a bull on its back, biting near the tail. They are shown in matched symmetrical pairs. The two bulls appear to be spotted, although this may be due to an indistinct photograph. A spotted quadruped prances.

Loc. Kevorkian collection (former)

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1163.

No. 37

Prov. Kashan



Date Early 17th century  
 Med. Tapestry carpet  
 Motif Lions and other animals, lions attacking other animals  
 Descr. This silk carpet has foliate floral borders. The centre field is divided into cartouches inhabited by dark quadrupeds biting asses, and grinning lion faces. Some lions have flames at their shoulders and tasselled tails. They too bite asses. There are also birds. In the interstices are spotted quadrupeds, lions lying down and other dark animals striding.  
 Loc. Thysson Collection  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1268

No. 38  
 Prov. Kirman(?)  
 Date Early 17th century  
 Med. Carpet  
 Motif Lions and other animals  
 Descr. A section of a medallion and animal carpet. The border is inhabited by spotted fish-like creatures, joined at the tail. The field is inhabited by various animals including lions shown opposed, growling and small deer or ass-like quadrupeds galloping. There are other animals that rather look like the lions but are spotted.  
 Loc. Collection Cassirer (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1246.

No. 39  
 Prov. Kashan  
 Date End 16th century

Med. Tapestry carpet

Motif Lions attacking other animals

Descr. The borders of this carpet are floral, foliate and geometric. In the corners are seated personages and small animals. In the central cartouche is a rider on a piebald horse, he seems to be wrestling with a spotted dragon, which may be biting the horse. The rider holds a short dagger at the ready. Around the centre, small animals and lions and cheetahs and leopards cavort. The lion and cheetahs bite the rear of spotted bull-like animal. Ibex gallop.

Loc. M L

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.

No. 40

Prov. Jawshaqan Qali, Persian

Date End 17th century

Med. Silk carpet

Motif Lions attacking other animals

Descr. A tree and animal carpet. Floral and foliate borders. In the centre are cypress trees, lions biting the necks of ibex, birds with curving, vicious parrot-like beaks and long tails, and long dragons. The other animals, small quadrupeds also attack or run through landscape.

Loc. Residenzmuseum, Munich

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1251.

## CERAMICS

No. 41  
Prov. Khuzistan  
Date 'Early Islamic'  
Med. Shard of glazed relief ware, from a storage jar  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. Pope states that it is datable to the first century and a half of Islam. It is an example of stamped relief ornament. It shows lions walking, going around to right. Mouth open, head up, dotted collar around neck. Scalloped ornament on the side of the neck indicates the mane or ruff. The tail is curled up over body and ends in three points. The body is decorated with stamped scrolls and circles.  
Loc. Pope  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 2, fig. 523.

No. 42  
Prov. Persia  
Date 9th or 10th century  
Med. Plate, manganese painted white ware.  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. It is decorated with a lion. The lion has white staring eyes, pricked up ears and a collar. Its haunches are powerfully marked and its waving tail is divided into three at the end. It is executed in a dark colour on a light background. Vine scroll ornament border.  
Loc. M M A

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl.582b.

No. 43  
Prov. Persian  
Date 9th or 10th century  
Med. Sgraffito ware bowl  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. Decorated with a quadruped animal, a lion. It has a long jaw with pricked up ears. The curling tail is scrolled, the paws long. It is in the centre of ornament composed of intersecting circles filled with cross hatching and foliate designs. Above it is an interlacing knot, a sky symbol. A conventionalized palm tree occupies a wedge shape. The lion has one paw lifted.  
Loc. Possession Densmare-Vignier (formerly)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 583b

No. 44  
Prov. Persian  
Date 9th or 10th century  
Med. Sgraffito ware bowl  
Motif Lion and other animals  
Descr. This bowl is decorated with a complex system of interlocking circles, creating a seven petalled asymmetrical rosette. In the centre is a bird and an interlaced knot. The irregular interstices are filled with lions, deer, hares, birds and foliate forms.  
Loc. S M B

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 583a.

No. 45  
Prov. Persian  
Date 9 - 11th century  
Med. Lustre-painted dish  
Motif Lion and other animals  
Descr. Decorated with animals. There is a lion passant gardant with long claws, an up-curved tail and a suggestion of wings, above which is a hare.  
Loc. Collection Alphonse Kann (formerly)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 575a

No. 46  
Prov. Persian  
Date 10th century  
Med. Sgraffito ware bowl  
Motif Lion and other animals  
Descr. It has loop decorations, filled with foliate designs and animals. There in the centre, a partridge. The thirty compartments created are filled with lions, birds, an ibex, a sun rosette and several archaic forms of stylized palms. The lion is crouching in one instance and rampant enclosed in a circle in another.  
Loc. Possession Kelekian (formerly)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 587

No. 47  
 Prov. Egypt  
 Date 11th century  
 Med. Ceramic, monochrome lustre painted  
 Motif Lions as single image  
 Descr. Bowl with three leaf shaped roundels each containing a prancing lion. Lions have heads up, ears pricked, forepaws raised, musculature of body shown and tails curled, minor variations between the three. Other ornament consists of leaf shapes and palmettes.  
 Loc. Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art  
 Ref. AAI, p. 191, pl. 176.

No. 48  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 11th century  
 Med. Lustre painted bowl  
 Motif Lion? in isolation  
 Descr. Presumably from Kashan. There is a lion-like spotted creature looking back over its shoulder. It has rounded ears, vertical lines indicating the ruff around the neck. It is padding along. The body shape is that of a lion. It is surrounded by foliate vine decoration.  
 Loc. Collection Paul Sachs (formerly)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 631a

No. 49

Prov. Yasukand, Persia  
 Date 11th century  
 Med. Champleve ware bowl  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. Decorated with a lion walking towards the left, body curved unnaturally, back curved to fit shape of bowl. The lion looks back over its shoulder towards tail. Large round eye, simple mane shown with short vertical lines, open mouth and sketched lines for nose. Marked muscles on front leg, thin back legs, bracelet around ankles. Simple curved tail with spear like end. Foliate palmette ornament on interstices of bowl.  
 Loc. Possession Larcade (formerly)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 615b

No. 50  
 Prov. North eastern Iran  
 Date 11 - 13th century  
 Med. Clay, terracotta  
 Motif Lion as a single animal  
 Descr. A foot-cleaner with a lion in relief. The lion occupies the entire surface, standing, head down, eyes closed. Tail curved over back.  
 Loc. Private collection  
 Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, fig. 15, p. 17

No. 51  
 Prov. 'Yasukund'  
 Date Prob. pre 13th century  
 Med. Pottery, Yasukund ware, red ware, colouring yellowish white

and reddish brown with splashes of green.

Motif            Lion in isolation

Descr.          A lion decorating with Yasukund ware

Loc.            B M

Ref.            Hobson, A Guide, p.25

No.             52

Prov.           Egypt

Date            11th - 12th century

Med.            Clay

Motif           Lion? in isolation

Descr.          A bread stamp showing a feline, possibly a lion, tail waving in the air. It is partly broken off

Loc.            I M B

Ref.            Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p. 125, fig. 91

No.             53

Prov.           Persia

Date            11th or 12th century

Med.            Pottery

Motif           Lions in isolation

Descr.          An incised and painted bowl with Sasanian type roundels enclosing lions. The lions have rounded bodies, long necks, ears and face not very clear, small short legs and tails. They have spotted and otherwise decorated bodies on a spotted ground.

Loc.            B M

Ref.            Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 626b



No. 54  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th or 12th century  
 Med. Blue glazed bowl  
 Motif Lions and other animals  
 Descr. The bowl shows a deeply drawn lion, lying head up. The lion has round ears, button nostrils, simple lines for the mane, ribs showing and a tail. It is surrounded by scroll vegetation. On the other sides are a lion and a wolf, not shown in the photograph.  
 Loc. N M T  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 599b

No. 55  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th or 12th century  
 Med. Blue glazed bowl  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. The lion is walking. It has a rounded head and ears, mouth open, a slightly scalloped neck which may indicate a mane. The paws are delineated, the ribs marked and the tail curled over the body.  
 Loc. Owner unknown  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.5, pl.600b

No. 56  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 12th century  
 Med. Unglazed earthenware  
 Motif Confronted lions

descr. Bath scraper, with relief decoration of confronted lions.  
 Lions open-mouthed, eyes delineated, lines indicating  
 manes, haunches marked with hollowed circle, tails raised  
 over back.  
 Loc. B M  
 Ref. 1928, 12-10.1.

No. 57  
 Prov. probably Mesopotamia  
 Date circa 1100  
 Med. Unglazed pottery  
 Motif Lion and other animals  
 Descr. A water jug, unglazed. It has a cable border, a band of  
 ornamental Kufic and hexagons with fantastic prowling  
 animals. These include a tiger, griffin, hares and birds.  
 One of the animals seems to be a lion, crouching with a  
 well defined mane, rounded face, pricked ears and waving  
 curled tail.  
 Loc. B M  
 Ref. Hobson, A Guide, p. 34, fig. 41.

No. 58  
 Prov. Persia, Rayy or Nishapur  
 Date 2nd half 12th century  
 Med. Cobalt blue glazed ware  
 Motif Winged lions in isolation  
 Descr. A large jar with a pear shaped body in cobalt blue glaze  
 decorated with floriated Kufic and scrolls. On the  
 shoulders a band of winged lions walk on a background of  
 palmette scrolls. Below is a second band of floriated

Kufic.

Loc. P D F - 1971.1  
Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Pottery, No. 63, colour plate D

No. 59  
Prov. Persia  
Date Later 12th century  
Med. Pottery, fritware, pierced and moulded  
Motif Lion as zodiac sign  
Descr. Jug with astrological signs each enclosed in pierced circle. Top row clockwise, Aries as a figure holding a pike and riding a ram, very indistinct, he seems to be helmeted. He has his left hand up behind him holding a weapon. The ram is thick bodied and horned. Taurus - the goat is being ridden by a human figure, helmeted or with long hair, holding on to the goat's horns. Gemini is represented by twin figures holding a staff behind them. They are helmeted. There is a sense of motion in the stance of the bodies. Cancer is shown as a crab with two long pincers surrounding a round human face, possibly representing the moon. Leo is represented by a lion facing in a clockwise direction. The body is indistinct - composed of ovoid shapes, its tail is up. Above his back is a circular sun with rays surrounding a human face, in the same style as the face over the crab. Virgo is a figures, probably male, holding a scythe or knife, or possibly a sheaf of corn. The figure appears to be kneeling, wearing long skirts and possibly a crown. The lower rank starts with Scorpio, underneath Gemini, shown as a figure seated cross-legged, holding a scorpion in the left hand. Sagittarius is shown as a centaur looking back

at Scorpio. He is in the act of firing an arrow at Scorpio. His tail seems to be tied in a heart-shaped knot, but is very indistinct. Capricorn is shown as a long-horned ibex, ridden by a figure with a human body and possibly an animal head. Aquarius is a human figure seated at the side of a well built of bricks, he is pulling a rope, presumably raising a bucket from the well. Pisces is shown as a figure seated cross-legged holding something in each hand. He may be holding a fish in his left hand, the object in his right hand is too indistinct to make out. After Pisces is a human figure possibly holding a sheaf of corn in his left hand while making scything motions with his right hand. If this is so, the image will represent Libra, and will start the bottom cycle.

Loc. B M

Ref. 1966.6-13.1

No. 60

Prov. Persia, Rayy(?)

Date Late 12th early 13th century

Med. Ceramic, white with crackled blue-turquoise glaze

Motif Lion and other animals

Descr. Large bowl. Lower part of the body has vertical panels, above which is a horizontal band of running dogs and lions against a scrolling ground.

Loc. A M 1956 - 161

Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Pottery, No. 67, pl. 29

No. 61

Prov. Persia, Seljuq

Date. 12th to 13th century

Med. Unglazed clay

Motif           Lion-bull combat

Descr.          Circular bath scraper. Lion biting bull at rear end, paws rest on bull's head and back. Lion has star motif on its flank. Bull also has incised body, bull has curling horns, ears laid back, open mouth.

Loc.            L.A. Mayer Memorial Collection

Ref.            Hartner, Ettinghausen, The Conquering Lion, pl. VII, fig. 12.

No.             62

Prov.           Persia, Sava

Date            12th or 13th century

Med.            Blue glazed relief ware

Motif           Lions(?) in isolation

Descr.          A compotier. There are felines, possibly lions acting as the three supports for the compotier, on which sets of three figures are moulded. The front portions of the animals are shown, the front legs form the base. They have rounded ears and modelled mouths.

Loc.            Possession Rebenou (former)

Ref.            Pope, A Survey, Vol.5, pl. 757b

No.             63

Prov.           Persia, Garrus district.

Date            12th to 13th century

Med.            Green glazed garrus ware

Motif           Lions (?) in isolation

Descr.          Bowl decorated on the interior with three quadrupeds, likely to be lions. Two have wings and may be senmervs. They are placed on a scrollwork ground.

Loc.	A M 1956-154
Ref.	Fehérvári, <u>Islamic Pottery</u> , No. 47, pl.24a

No.	64
Prov.	Persia
Date	12th to 13th century
Med.	Turquoise glazed pottery
Motif	Lion as a single animal
Descr.	Ewer in the form of a seated lion. Spout emanating from back of neck, small loop for handling. Lion has modelled haunches, markings for mane, rounded ears, rounded face, markings for eyes and nostrils.

Loc.	B M
Ref.	1922.7-11.1

No.	65
Prov.	Persia, Kashan
Date	End 12th or early 13th century
Med.	Brown lustre ware
Motif	Lion as zodiac sign
Descr.	Beggar's bowl. The decoration consists of two narrow bands of thuluth inscription in white and two wide bands, the upper one of which contains twelve signs of the zodiac in medallions. The lower one has heart-shaped leaf palmettes. There is a rather indistinct feline animal next to the crab, which is most likely Leo the lion.

Loc.	A M 1956-58
Ref.	Fehérvári, <u>Islamic Pottery</u> , p. 92, No. 102, pl. 45a

No. 66  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 13th century  
 Med. Turquoise blue glazed ware  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. Lion seated on its haunches. Beaded bands run around its front paws. There is a ruff around its neck and wavy lines down its back representing the mane. Its ears are pricked up, the left one having a hole in it. Its nose is broad and flat. The eyebrows and eyes are delineated, the mouth open and teeth showing. It is very smoothly modelled.  
 Loc. Possession Kevorkian (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 766, pl. 767

No. 67  
 Prov. Persia, Kashan  
 Date 13th century  
 Med. Overglaze painted and gilded relief ware  
 Motif Lions in isolation  
 Descr. Jug. Two felines, lions, one on each side form the handles. They are modelled very roundly with rounded ears and a softly modelled mouth, they climb up the sides of the jug as if taking sips from the liquid. The spout is lower down at the front.  
 Loc. Collection Sir Ernest Debenham (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 678a

No. 68  
 Prov. Persia, Kashan  
 Date 13th century

Med.	Overglaze painted and gilded relief ware
Motif	Lion and other animal
Descr.	A covered jug, turquoise blue, black and red. A modelled eagle rests on top of the lid. A modelled lion, one on each side forms the handles of the jug. The mane and backbone are executed in a diamond design. Dark painted lines indicate the features.
Loc.	A M
Ref.	Pope, <u>A Survey</u> , Vol. 5, pl. 683b, Fehérvári, <u>Islamic Pottery</u> , pl. 35b
No.	69
Prov.	Persia, Kashan
Date	13th century
Med.	Lustre painted plate
Motif	Lion being hunted
Descr.	Around the rim human figures are engaged respectively in killing a snake, leading a spotted leopard, firing a bow at a lion-like winged creature and beating a dark lion-like beast who looks back and snarls. Smaller quadrupeds are also being hunted. The animals and human figures are interspersed amid trees. On the face of the plate humans on horseback and foot are slaughtering each other in a very confused bustling scene.
Loc.	Possession Kelekian (former)
Ref.	Pope, <u>A Survey</u> , Vol. 5, pl. 674
No.	70
Prov.	Persia, Rayy
Date	13th century
Med.	Lustre painted plate
Motif	Lion and other animals



Descr. It has an asymmetrical distribution of animals in a light colour with dark spots and a mock inscription around the outer rim. At the bottom are a pair of confronted birds, above which a lion moves to the left. The lion has a spotted body and is rather finely drawn; the detailing not very clear. He looks back over his shoulder. There is a griffin above, a peacock on the right and a small bird on the left.

Loc. Collection Oscar Raphael (former)

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 641a

No. 71

Prov. Persia, Rhages

Date 13th century

Med. Pottery, thin buff, enamel

Motif Lion and human figures

Descr. A water jug of unglazed pottery. Seated figures occupy six-sided compartments. A lion-like creature appears in one. It has a finely drawn coloured body and a plain face and is surrounded by scrollwork. Designs in thick blue enamel.

Loc. B M

Ref. 1928.7-21.22

No. 72

Prov. Persia, Kashan

Date Dated in part 1267

Med. Tile, lustre painted

Motif Lion and sun

Descr. Some tiles in the reassembled collection have vegetal

ornaments, others have flying ducks, bears, deer, seated personages, birds. One has a lion walking with the sun behind his back, shown with a corolla and face turned sideways disappearing behind the lion. The lion has a spotted body.

Loc. M L  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, pl. 721

No. 73  
Prov. Persia, Kashan  
Date 2nd half 13th century  
Med. Lustre painted plate  
Motif Lion as zodiac sign  
Descr. With the signs of the zodiac. The lion and the sun are in the centre. The lion paces in front of the sun and is surrounded by six figures representing the planets, then the twelve zodiac signs. The lion may appear again, although it is very hard to see. Fourteen human figures are mounted on the rim, on foxes.

Loc. B M F A  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.5, pl.713

No. 74  
Prov. Persia, Sultanabad  
Date Late 13th century  
Med. Pottery, underglaze blue and black  
Motif Lion as a single animal  
Descr. A dish, lion or lion-like feline prowling on all fours, unusually long legs, short body, traces of mane on neck. Head rather undefined. Foliate background.

Loc. B M

Ref. 1928. 4-19.2.

No. 75

Prov. Persia, Kashan

Date Late 13th - early 14th century

Med. Ceramic, fritware, blue painted opaque white glaze lustre

Motif Lion killing bull

Descr. Star tile, lion killing bull. Lion grasps bull with its front paws, bites into bull's spine at hump. Lion's ears pricked, eyes and nostrils delineated, lines indicate ruff around face. Guard hairs of legs shown, digits on paws large with long nails. Back legs lion partly cut off by inscription. Lion has lightly spotted body. Bull partly kneeling, struggling. Body spotted, guard hairs of stomach shown. Back portion bull partly obscured by inscription around edges tile.

Loc. Keir Collection

Ref. B.W. Robinson, ed. Islamic Art Keir Coll., 1988, p. 158 & p.154, C.16

No. 76

Prov. Syria, mina excavations

Date 13th - 14th century

Med. Ceramic bowl, sgraffito

Motif lion as single animal

Descr. Bowl. On inside, striding feline, probably a lion, impressionistic form, rounded face, staring eyes, agitated lines indicating mane, attenuated elongated body, legs only partly shown, right front paw, blue digits, long tail.

Loc. B M

Ref. 1937.3-17.4

No. 77

Prov. Persia

Date 15th or 16th century

Med. Underglaze painted porcelain

Motif Lion in isolation

Descr. Flask, the stoppered body is decorated with a lion with flaming shoulders and long flame like claws. The tail is tasselled. There are spots on the body. It is turned, ferociously hissing at the viewer.

Loc. S M B

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.5, pl.783b

No. 78

Prov. Persia

Date 17th century

Med. Ceramic, stoneware type - semi-faience

Motif Lion and man

Descr. A sprinkler bottle. The body has a design in relief. A lion straining at the leash walks to the left. A man pulls backwards on the leash. The lion is rounded and powerful. Behind is a tree.

Loc. Gemeente-Museum, The Hague

Ref. Kühnel, Minor Arts, fig. 106, p. 141

No. 79

Prov. Turkey, Ottoman

Date circa 1600

Med. Ceramic, polychrome painted

Motif            Lion-bull combat

Descr.           An Iznik plate. Scrolls on outer rim, centre of plate, saz leaves and blossoms. Central motif lion biting bull through spine near back haunches. Lion clasps bull from rear, right front and back paws straddling bull. Bull black in colour, curved horns, rolling eye, bell around neck. Lion rounded face, pricked ears, rounded body, long tail, well defined digits on paws.

Loc.            Berlin State Museum, Islamic Department, No. J22/60

Ref.            Hartner, Ettinghausen, The Conquering Lion, pl.VIII, fig. 13.

No.            80

Prov.           Turkey, Iznik

Date            17th century

Med.            ceramic

Motif           lion and other animals

Descr.           A bottle in blue, green and red with black outline. On the body and neck are simurghs, and animals and birds. These animals include a leopard, cheetah, tiger and a lion. There is a lion mask marked in black on the base. The lion has a feline face, large ears and spots on the body.

Loc.            B M

Ref.            78.12-30.463

No.            81

Prov.           Turkey, Iznik

Date            1600

Med.            Ceramic

Motif           Lion and other animals

Descr.           Basin decorated with monsters and grotesque animals.

Animals include a pair of crowned hyenas, dogs, hares, pairs of confronted lions walking faces tilted, big bulbous noses, round eyes, raised eyebrows. Harpies in confronted pairs, peacocks, cloud and floral motifs, green, blue, touches of bole red and black on white.

Loc. B M  
Ref. G 1983 158

No. 82  
Prov. Turkey, Iznik  
Date 1600  
Med. Ceramic  
Motif Lion attacking deer  
Descr. Large flask with monsters and grotesque animals. Confronted crowned harpies, lion attacking deer, lion clasping deer in front paws. Lion large face, striped body, ruff, straight brush. Clasps deer by hindquarters and bites into backbone.  
Loc. B M  
Ref. 78 12-30 462.

No. 83  
Prov. Turkey, Iznik  
Date 1600  
Med. Ceramic  
Motif Lion and other animals  
Descr. Tondino. Decorated with monsters and grotesque animals. In centre, hyena type quadruped grapples with snake. Around rim, animals include a lion running after deer, lion sprawled, front paws out as if deer has just eluded its

grasp. Lion has round face, bulbous nose. It is striped white and blue as are the other animals - peacocks, hares and monsters.

Loc. B M  
Ref. G 1983.163

No. 84  
Prov. Turkey, Iznik  
Date 1600  
Med. Ceramic, underglaze painted  
Motif Lion and sun  
Descr. Plate with central design of lion and sun. Lion strides towards right, tail down, lines for ribs, head, pricked back ears, bulbous nose, open mouth, digits of feet well defined. Behind lion, sun with human face in centre, black, bole-red and turquoise green.

Loc. B M  
Ref. G 1983.123

No. 85  
Prov. Persia  
Date ca 1920  
Med. Ceramic, buff, sgraffito decoration  
Motif Animal combat  
Descr. Rounded bowl on flat pedestal foot, decorated inside with combat of winged lion and stylized sheep, frieze of hunting animals, green and brown.

Loc. B M  
Ref. 1926. 4-22.1.

**METALWORK**  
**M E T A L W O R K**

No. 86  
Prov. Perm, Russia  
Date Sasanian or post-Sasanian (Islamic).  
Med. Metalwork  
Motif Lion and bull combat  
Descr. Plate discovered in Komorovo in Perm. A lion stands in front of a stylized tree, straddling a bull. The lion is biting the inner side of the bull's neck and pinning its hind legs down. The lion has a curling luxuriant mane, lashing tail and well defined paw and leg muscles. Circles decorate the lion's ankles and a whirling hair rosette appears on its shoulders. Similar rosettes appear on the bull's front and rear flanks.  
Loc.  
Ref. Kantor, JNES, Vol.6, 1947. p.X1a

No. 87  
Prov. Persian  
Date post Sasanian  
Med. Metalwork, silver  
Motif Lion attacking stag  
Descr. A silver dish having a wide rim, the central portion of the dish shows a stag being attacked by a lion. The lion has its paws front and back on the body or head of the stag and is growling at it open mouthed. The stag is curved in an unnatural position to fit the circular well of the dish. The lion has a stylized curling mane, ruff around the face,



strongly marked facial features, lines marking the ribs of the chest and a waving tail. The stag has a strongly marked face and lines indicating the ribs of the chest, its legs are tucked under its body. Palmette fronds fill the remaining space.

Loc. H M  
 Ref. Dimand, AI, "A Review of Sasanian and Islamic Metalwork in A Survey of Persian Art.", vol.8, (1941) Fig.5

No. 88  
 Prov. Choresmia  
 Date. 658 AD  
 Med. Silver  
 Motif Goddess seated on lion  
 Descr. A bowl with inscription around outside edge. Inside roundel showing four armed goddess seated on a lion. The lion is curved to fit into roundel - crouched, head turned back, very naturalistic, hairs of body and mane indicated.

Loc. B M  
 Ref. 1975. 5-16.1.

No. 89  
 Prov. Iran  
 Date 8th - 10th century  
 Med. Metalwork  
 Motif Lion's head  
 Descr. A bronze jug. A handle on top is described as being a

lion's head. It is very abstract and stylized in form. The head is long and thin with eyes and a pricked up ear. It may be a horse's head.

Loc. K C No. 6.

Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork p.35, No.6, pl.2d.

No. 90

Prov. Iran

Date 9th - 10th century

Med. Metalwork, bronze

Motif Lion's head

Descr. A small mortar cylindrical in shape with a lion's head in high relief on one side, opposite a handle with a small hole.

Loc. K C

Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.38, No.16, pl.5b

No. 91

Prov. Egypt, Tulunid, Ikhshidid or early Fatimid

Date 9th - 10th century

Med. Cast bronze ewer

Motif Single lion

Descr. Cast bronze ewer, globular body on short cylindrical foot, tall neck, lidded. Handle S shaped with lion sitting on top of same. Lion sculptured three dimensional, walking, eyes shown, body crudely modelled, tail hanging down. Body

appears to be pierced with holes resting on ring form in front of hind legs. Cage further down handle. Lid pierced, foot pierced, oblique lines on neck ring. Otherwise body plain.

Loc. K C  
Ref. Ed.B.W. Robinson, Islamic Art Keir Coll., (1988), p. 119, M.3 .

No. 92  
Prov. Iran  
Date 9th - 10th century  
Med. Metalwork, bronze  
Motif Lions in isolation  
Descr. A plaque in bronze with remains of gilding. The open work decoration depicts two rampant lions standing on their hind legs with front paws touching.

Loc. K C  
Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.38, No.17, pl.5c.

No. 93  
Prov. Egypt  
Date 9th - 11th century  
Med. Metalwork, bronze  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. A single rampant lion of bronze with tail curled round to form a hook. A few engraved lines on the back of the neck indicate the mane.

Loc. K C  
Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.51, No.34, pl.10C

No.	94
Prov.	Egypt
Date	9th - 11th century
Med.	Metalwork, bronze
Motif	Lion attacking gazelle
Descr.	A lion attacks a gazelle. The gazelle's head is turned backwards towards its attacker, one of its horns is missing. The lion and gazelle both face towards the left. The lion stands on the gazelle, back legs towards the hind leg of the gazelle, one front leg on the shoulders, while the other rests on the gazelle's head. Both animals are rendered in an abstract style. There are engraved details on the bodies of both the animals. The piece most likely formed part of the lid of a large vessel.
Loc.	K C
Ref.	Fehérvári, <u>Islamic Metalwork</u> , p.51, No.36, pl.11a.

No.	95
Prov.	Spain or Sicily
Date	10th - 12th century
Med.	Metalwork, bronze.
Motif	Lion in isolation
Descr.	Probably the base of a candlestick. There is a crouching lion in bronze, the forelegs partly missing and the back of the body broken. A large hole has been made on top and a square hole opposite at the bottom. Another is in the centre of the mouth. The mane is rendered in a scale

pattern.

Loc. K C  
Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.48, No.27, pl.9a.

No. 96  
Prov. Persia  
Date 11th century? 4th century?  
Med. Metalwork  
Motif Lion and bull combat  
Descr. A silver gilt rhyton depicting antelopes, a lion and a bull approaching a central tree. The lion has a stippled mane and overall stippled body and a naturalistic face. He appears to be growling at the bull which is plunging towards a tree.

Loc. The Arthur Sackler Collections.  
Ref. Harper, The Royal Hunter, pl.5

No. 97  
Prov. Persia  
Date. mid 11th century  
Med. metal, silver  
Motif enthroned figure, with lions  
Descr. Central medallion at bottom of dish shows turbaned seated figure, raising goblet, flanked by attendants, braided interlace band separates figures from two crouching lions below. Lions face each other, shown crouched, heavily maned, faces clearly shown, tails waving.

Loc. Formerly St. Petersburg  
Ref. AAI, p. 236, pl. 249

No. 98  
 Prov. Persia, probably Khurasan  
 Date. 1206 AD  
 Med. brass  
 Motif Zebu cow nursing calf, lion on back  
 Descr. Aquamanile sculpture freestanding - of zebu cow standing nursing a calf, a small lion has leapt on cow's back and acts as a handle. It is very simply rendered, and appears to be grasping the cow's hump and biting, almost suckling it.  
 Loc. St. Petersburg, Hermitage  
 Ref. AAI, p.340, pl. 360.

No. 99  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11 -12th century  
 Med. Metalwork, relief, bronze  
 Motif Winged lion and other animals  
 Descr. A frieze from a tray. Above hares run, below is a winged lion and several peacocks.  
 Loc. Private collection  
 Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p.177, No.151.

No. 100  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th century  
 Med. Metalwork

Motif            Lion, man and other animals  
 Descr.          Drinking bowl with a man and animals including a lion.  
 Loc.            Collection Harari  
 Ref.            Kühnel, The Minor Arts, Fig.148a.

No.             101  
 Prov.           Egypt  
 Date            11th - 12th century  
 Med.            Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif           Lion in isolation  
 Descr.          A small lion with a round open mouth and short legs, with  
                   paws all facing in the same direction. The tail is curved  
                   over its back.  
 Loc.            Museum Dahlem, Berlin.  
 Ref.            Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p.160, Fig.126.

No.             102  
 Prov.           Eastern Persia, prob. Khorasan  
 Date            11th or 12th century  
 Med.            Metalwork, engraved  
 Motif           Lion? and Ibex?  
 Descr.          A bronze padlock in feline shape with scrolls on its flanks  
                   and patterned designs on its thighs. Four half palmettes  
                   decorate the flanks and it is suggested that these may be  
                   'reduced' ibex heads.  
 Loc.            V & A    Inv. No. M.19   1971  
 Ref.            Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, p.54, No.18

No. 103  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 12th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion and other animals  
 Descr. A jug of bronze, there is a seated lion on the handle. A band on the body contains six animals: a boar, cheetah, gazelle, lion, bull and wolf in pursuit against a scroll background.  
 Loc. K C No.61  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.66, No.61, pl.18d

No. 104  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 12th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion head  
 Descr. A mortar of bronze consisting of a lug and free moving ring attached at one side. The lug is in the shape of a lion's head. Each side except that of the lug has three teardrop shaped bosses in high relief. The round base has traces of Kufic inscription.  
 Loc. K C  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.79, No.88, pl.28c.

No. 105



Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze,  
 Motif Lion head  
 Descr. The head of a lion, part of an incense burner. The lower part is open work with a knob at its base, which must have connected it to the body, along the base is a traced palmette scroll. There are holes for the mouth and eyes and also on top of the head. Three hooks are attached near the mouth. The lion has large ears.  
 Loc. K C  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.89, No.112, pl.38a

No. 106  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion head  
 Descr. The head of a lion, part of an incense burner. The head is slightly turned to the left. There is openwork and a traced design on the neck, showing intertwined scrolls. The eyes are pierced and the animal has large ears.  
 Loc. K C  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.89, No.113, pl.38b

No. 107  
 Prov. Persia

Date 11th - 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork  
 Motif Lion head  
 Descr. A lion's protome in bronze. The leg of a large lampstand the end of which is designed as the front part of an animal standing on its two front legs. The left leg is raised. There is openwork decoration on its chest and the top of the head. It has large ears, a nose and mouth, the eyes filled with blue stones. A running animal is traced on its flanks. The large body is part of the shaft of a lampstand. The Kufic inscription wishes "Happiness and blessing".  
 Loc. K C  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.89, No.114, pl.38c

No. 108  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork  
 Motif Lion's head  
 Descr. A lion's head in bronze which tops the end of a shaft. It might be the terminal of a chair or throne. Half way up the same shaft is a bull's head, while on the back is a medallion with birds.  
 Loc. K C  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.90, No.115, pl.39a

No. 109

Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. The protome of a lion in bronze, standing on two legs with a head. It once served as the leg of an object, probably a casket.  
 Loc. K C  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.90, No.116, pl.39b

No. 110  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion's head  
 Descr. The head of a lion in bronze, resting on a triangular base. It would once have been attached to a larger object. A vertical cable pattern runs in front and at the back of the neck. There is an X shaped motif to the right in the front of the base and remains of spikes.  
 Loc. K C  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.91, No.117, pl.39c

No. 111  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 11th - 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion in isolation

Descr. A staff head in the shape of a lion, octagonal with a ring base. It has palmette and half palmette decoration.  
Loc. KC  
Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.91, No.118, pl.39d

No. 112  
Prov. Persia  
Date 11th - 13th century  
Med. Metalwork, relief decoration, bronze  
Motif Lion and other animals  
Descr. Mirror with quadruped animals encircling centre portion,  
one may be a lion.  
Loc. Collection Harari  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1302c

No. 113  
Prov. Persia  
Date 11th - 13th century  
Med. Metalwork  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. A bronze lion, head turned to the left, legs missing. The tail rests in an S shape on the back. There are traced lines above the joints and on the neck.  
Loc. K C  
Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.92, No.122, pl.40d

No. 114

prov. Spain or Sicily  
 Date 11th - 12th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. An aquamanile in the shape of a standing lion. It holds the end of the pipe in its mouth. There is a long turned up tail which joins the back of the head. It is decorated with elaborate engraved decoration with gilding in places, the decoration of the body is divided into different areas created by an angular meander pattern between double lines. The shoulders and breast are elaborately decorated. Below the mouth a triangle is formed on either side with filled diagonal motifs in the centre, surrounded by three lobed leaves with split palmettes. There is a similar design on the front shoulders enclosed by a circle. The hind legs are the same and arabesques decorate the rump.  
 Loc. KC  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p.48, No.28, pl.9b

No. 115  
 Prov. Seljuq, Persia  
 Date Early 12th century (Shepherd), mid 12th (Baer)  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. A lion shaped incense burner. It is patterned with designs derived from textiles, consisting of ogival compartments containing seven petalled palmettes against a pierced background. Strands of the mane, its shoulders and thighs are also engraved with palmette designs. There is a band of Quranic inscription along the back and around the breast

and also around the neck taken from sura 62 "The Congregation" verses 9 - 10. Read by D S Rice as follows:

"O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the day of assembly hasten to the commemoration of God, and leave merchandising. This will be better for you, if you knew it. And when prayer is ended then disperse yourselves through the land ye list, and seek, gain of the liberty of God: and remember God (frequently that you may prosper").

Loc. C M A No.48 308

Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p.57, Fig.41

No. 116

Prov. Northern Mesopotamia

Date 12th century (third quarter)

Med. Enamelled bronze (copper)

Motif Apotheosis scene, with animals

Descr. Two handled enamelled bowl, heavily decorated. Central roundel contains scene of ascension of Alexander the Great. Inside the rim runs 6 roundels containing eagles, a fantastic bird, a winged quadruped subduing another animal and a lion subduing a deer or fawn. The lion is shown holding down the fawn, front feet resting into hind quarters. The lion's mouth is open lines indicate haunches and its tail curves over the back. The motifs are overlaid by scrolling vines, rendering them indistinct. An inscription circles the rim. The outer sides of the bowl

feature court attendants and entertainers: dancing girls, musicians, acrobats and a princely cupbearer. Bowl made for son of Artuqid Da'ud (1114-44) ruled principality between upper Tigris and Euphrates.

Loc. Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum  
 Ref. AAI, p. 362 and 363, pl. 384.

No. 117  
 Prov. Persia or Turkey  
 Date 12th century AD  
 Med. Bronze  
 Motif Lion and other animals  
 Descr. A circular mirror with back decorated in relief with procession of animals. Four quadrupeds - of which one is a male lion shown striding head forward, tail looped over body. Lion's face has eyes and bulbous nose, pricked up rounded ears, lines for mane and lines indicating musculature of haunches. Animals prowl amid scrolling decoration. Raised central boss, surrounded by incised sunburst motif.

Loc. B M  
 Ref. 59 12.18.1

No. 118  
 Prov. Persia, Khorasan?  
 Date 12th century or later  
 Med. Metalwork, cast bronze  
 Motif Lion in isolation

descr. The upper section of a lion-shaped incense burner. It has pricked up ears, a moulded nose, almond shaped eyes and thick lips. The sides consist of pierced scrolling designs.

Loc. V & A Inv. No. M115 1966

Ref. Melikian-Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, p.135, No.65

No. 119

Prov. Persia

Date 12th century

Med. Metalwork, pierced and engraved, bronze

Motif Lion? in isolation

descr. An incense burner possibly in the shape of a lion. Its mouth forms the spout, the neck is hinged and the body is executed in cut openwork with palmettes. A band like inscription runs across the chest and around the tops of the legs. The animal looks more horse like than lion-like. It is signed 'Ali ibn Muhammad as Salihr' (?)

Loc. H M

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1304 a and b

No. 120

Prov. Persia

Date 12th century

Med. Metalwork, pierced and engraved

Motif Lion (?) in isolation

descr. A bronze incense burner in the shape of a quadruped animal. It has upstanding ears, but no tail is apparent. There are



incised lines around the nostrils. The animal appears to be feline and may be a lion.

Loc. possession Demotte (former)

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1298a.

No. 121

Prov. Persia

Date 12th century

Med. Metalwork

Motif Lions in isolation

Descr. A base of a candlestick with chased relief designs showing seated lions with stylised bulbous eyes.

Loc. M L Paris

Ref. Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p.171, Fig.137

No. 122

Prov. Mesopotamia

Date 12th century

Med. Metalwork, bronze

Motif Lion head and dragons

Descr. Door knocker with two dragons facing away from each other with a lion head between them.

Loc. M D B

Ref. Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p.163, Fig.130

No. 123

Prov. Persia, prob. Khorasan  
 Date 12th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Winged lions  
 Descr. A rectangular 'tray'. A tree represented as a plant derived from lotus buds is shown flanked by winged lions.  
 Loc. Copenhagen. C.L. David collection 24/1969  
 Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p.162, p.136

No. 124  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 12th century  
 Med. Metalwork, pierced, engraved and inlaid  
 Motif Lion? in isolation  
 Descr. A bronze incense burner in the shape of a quadruped animal, eyes inlaid with turquoise. It has chased decoration, a prominent tail and upstanding ears. It is possibly a lion.  
 Loc. M L  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl.1297

No. 125  
 Prov. Persia, Herat  
 Date 1181-82  
 Med. Metalwork  
 Motif Lion as sign of the zodiac  
 Descr. An ewer decorated with a lion and sun with rays, signs of the zodiac and planets. It bears the following inscriptions:

My beautiful ewer, pleasant and elegant. In  
the world of today who can find the like?  
Everyone who sees it says 'It is very  
beautiful'. No one has found its heir because  
there are no others like it.

Glance at the ewer, a spirit comes to life out  
of it, And this is living water that flows  
from it. Each stream which flows from it into  
the hand Gives each hour new pleasure.

Glance at the ewer which everyone praises;  
It is worthy to be of service to such an  
honoured person as you.  
Everyone seeing how moisture flows from it  
Is able to say nothing which would not be  
appropriate to it.

This ewer is for water and they make it in  
Herat  
In what other century can they make the like  
of it?  
Seven heavenly bodies, however proud they may  
be  
Are protection for the one who works so  
Let kindness come down on the one who makes  
such an ewer.

Who wastes gold and silver and so decorates it  
Let happiness come to him if he gives the ewer  
to a friend.

Let trouble come if he surrenders it to an enemy.

Loc. Tiflis, Georgian State Museum

Ref. Allan, Islamic Metalwork, p. 49.

No. 126

Prov. Persia

Date late 12th century

Med. Bronze, engraved

Motif Lion as zodiac sign

Descr. Shows zodiac imagery. In the central picture of Leo shown with the radiant sun, a winged dragon is at the end of the lion's tail and is shown in a menacing attitude towards the sun. A bronze vessel.

Loc. Museum of the Gulistan Palace

Ref. Hartner, AI, 5 (1938), pp. 113 -154, fig. 1.

No. 127

Prov. Persia

Date 1163 or 1221

Med. Metalwork, engraved

Motif Lion as zodiac sign

Descr. The Wade Cup. Decorated in part with zodiacal designs. The outer decoration consists of a large circular band just below the rim of animated inscriptions, six downward pointing triangles filled with decorative knots. Below this

band is a row of lozenge shaped compartments surrounding six signs of the zodiac, the six remaining signs occupy the lowest register. Compartments formed by the overlapping loops of decorative bands are decorated with processions of real and imaginary animal-antelopes, dogs, cheetahs, sphinxes, harpies and birds. On the inner walls of the cup is a narrow band of blessing inscriptions. In the centre of the cup, twelve stalks bearing lemon-shaped palmettes ending in knots and lance-shaped pearls radiate. The circular plaque at the bottom contains a central knot framed by four sphinx-like animals arranged in a circular pattern. The body of the bowl proper contains two rows of fish swimming anti-clockwise. Leo occupies a lozenge shaped compartment and is shown as a striding lion with well defined musculature surmounted by the radiant disc of the sun. A small horned head in front of the lion may represent a dragon.

Loc. C M A  
 Ref. Ettinghausen, A0, 2 (1957) photos from D.S. Rice, The Wade Cup.

No. 128  
 Prov. Eastern Persia  
 Date late 12th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Feline masks and bull masks  
 Descr. The base of a lampstand cast with engraved decoration. The polylobed platform has a slanting rim supported on three

hoofed legs, ending in frontal bull masks. The surface of the platform is decorated with six lotus bud shaped cups. Cartouches contain birds in profile facing towards the right. Each section of the rim of the platform bears an epigraphic inscription. The decoration of the legs consists of, on the part facing upwards, semi-abstract feline masks with a nose, slit eyes, slanting lines for the muzzle. On the upper part of the legs are human faces rendered in a geometric fashion. On the upper part of the hooves are more feline masks with clearly formed noses and curves going from the noses to curl around the ears. The inscription states:

"With esoteric knowledge/with esoteric knowledge/with div(ine favours)/with esoteric knowledge/with div(ine favours)/"

Loc. V & A Inv. No.M2 1943

Ref. Melikian-Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, No.21, pp.87-88

No. 129

Prov. Persia

Date later 12th earlier 13th centuries

Med. Metalwork, bronze

Motif Lion as zodiac sign

Descr. Inkwell. On the shoulders of the lid of the inkwell are zodiac signs. leo is represented by a seated lion. The body of the inkwell has entrelac designs.

Loc. P M A No. 30.1.45 a& b.

Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p. 251, no. 203.

No. 130

Prov. Persia

Date Late 12th early 13th century  
 Med. Bronze, engraved decoration  
 Motif Lion head ring mount  
 Descr. Mortar with engraved decoration of scrolls, in panels and bands on plain ground, feline head with ring passing through its mouth. Feline head, modelled ears, lines for bulbous nose and deep set eyes.  
 Loc. B M  
 Ref. 1956 7-26.4.

No. 131  
 Prov. Persia, Khorasan  
 Date late 12th early 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, engraved  
 Motif Lion as zodiac sign  
 Descr. Cover of an inkwell. it has the twelve signs of the zodiac on its shoulders. Leo is shown as a lion walking, tail lashing, looking back at Cancer the crab shown holding a solar disc between its claws. There is no sun with the lion  
 Loc. Kabul Museum  
 Ref. Melikian-Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, p.69, fig. 39

No. 132  
 Prov. East Persia  
 Date later 12th early 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion as sign of the zodiac  
 Descr. A bronze bucket decorated with signs of the zodiac

consisting of Aries as a ram, Taurus as a bull, Gemini as a single human-headed bird, Cancer a crab, Leo a quadruped with the head of a bird of prey, Virgo as a pair of leafy branches, libra by a pair of scales, Scorpio as a scorpion, Sagittarius as a human bust drawing a bow, Capricorn as an ibex, Aquarius as a well and bucket attached to a long rope and a fish. The signs are contained in roundels surrounded by entrelac and foliate designs. A border of inscription runs around the top.

Loc. B M No. 1958 10-13.1

Ref. Baer, Sphinxes and Harpies, Figs. 87-89

No. 133

Prov. Persia, Herat

Date late 12th early 13th century

Med. Metalwork, brass inlaid

Motif Lion as single image and sign of zodiac

Descr. An ewer having a cylindrical neck, high spout, fluted body. On the spout lid is a repousse lion, while on the neck, two repousse seated lions are surrounded by Naskhi inscriptions and arabesques. Enthroned figures and roundels with the signs of the zodiac and planets decorate the body. The lion is shown pacing to the left, mouth open, bifurcated tail held up, a horned head on the ground between his knees, an animal head with big ears under his back legs. The sun is above his back, circular with rays and two faces.

Inscription, neck:

Glory, prosperity, ease, leisure, health and sympathy.

With good fortune, blessing, wealth, peace, happiness and ease.



Shoulder:

Glory, prosperity, wealth, happiness, sympathy, health, ease, favour, gratitude and perpetuity.

Upper body:

Glory, prosperity, wealth, happiness, health, sympathy, leisure, contentment, ease, honour and piety.

Similar inscriptions on lower body and foot.

Loc. N E S

Ref. Allan, Islamic Metalwork, p. 46, no. 5

No. 134

Prov. Persia northwest, or Armenia

Date 12th or 13th century

Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid, brass, silver

Motif Lion attacking quadruped

Descr. Ewer. At the bottom seated men apparently conversing. The middle band shows images of the hunt: quadrupeds, men on horseback and men on foot and sphinx-like figures. The centre panel has a man on foot holding a bird. A quadruped animal prances around, while a lion with flailing tail and powerful haunches, attacks a quadruped. There follows a band of seated figures, and a band of sphinxes confronted in pairs. At the top of the spout a lion-like creature heavily incised sits on its haunches in profile. This animal is larger than any other individual element in the design.

Loc. Collection J. Homberg (former)

Ref. Pope, A survey, vol. 6, pl. 1324

No. 135  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 12th or 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, traced  
 Motif Lion confronting gazelle  
 Descr. Bronze handle, seven sided. The flat top has traced decoration depicting a lion confronting a gazelle. The Kufic inscription reads "Happiness, blessing, honour, peace, power, honour, success...." A Naskhi inscription reads " Glory, power, peace and good luck"  
 Loc. K.C. No. 104  
 Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p. 86, pl. 35 b,c

No. 136  
 Prov. East Persia or Afghanistan  
 Date 13th century  
 Med. Bronze, engraved  
 Motif Lion as zodiac image  
 Descr. Lidded bowl, known as vaso vescovali. Engraved with signs of the zodiac and the planets, huntsmen and revellers. The lion as a zodiac sign is pacing, the sun with corolla behind him.  
 Loc. B M  
 Ref. 1950. 7-25.1.

No. 137  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 12th to 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion and other animals

Descr. An oil lamp of bronze inlaid with copper. There is a tall handle on which is seated a harpy, on the side of the body of the vessel is a pseudo Kufic inscription while at the back is engraved the body of an animal, most probably a lion.

Loc. K C

Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p. 82, No. 95, pl. 31c

No. 138

Prov. Syria

Date late 12th early 13th century

Med. Metalwork and enamel

Motif Lion and bird

Descr. Pommel, twelve lobed circular object. On one side is a small bird within a circle surrounded by simple scrolls. There are cross motifs in the lobes. On the reverse is a lion.

Loc. K C No. 128

Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p. 103, No. 128, pl. 43a  
(reverse not shown).

No. 139

Prov. Khorasan, Persia

Date Late 12th early 13th century

Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid

Motif Lions as isolated animals

Descr. A candlestick, with a truncated cone, slightly in-curving sides. Animal friezes in low relief appear at the top and bottom of the cone. There are three rows of hexagonal bosses. In the lower frieze, thirteen pairs of confronted

lions sit on either side of trilobed floral motifs topped by lotus blossoms. In the upper frieze twenty-six birds are shown in profile looking left. The bosses are inlaid with constellations of seven tangent discs. Eight epigraphic sections are framed by horizontal cartouches, separated by roundels enclosing moon crescents. The upper inscription on the walls is in naskhi:

"Might, auspicious fate, good for/tune felicity/spiritual integrity/...spiritual immunity A! AB Might, auspicious g/ood fortune, felicit/y spiritual integrity ef/fort, spiritual immunity. A!"

The lower inscription in Khorasanian tall Kufic read:

"With bliss, divine grace and good for/tune/with bliss, divine grace and g(ood) fortune/with bliss, divine grace and A L/with bliss, divine grace and good fortune/with bliss, divine grace, good fortune and s(piritual integrity)".

Loc. V & A

Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp.112-113, No.43

No. 140

Prov. possibly western Persia

Date probably late 12th century, early 13th

Med. Metalwork, brass with engraved designs

Motif Lion head

Descr. A cylindrical mortar with a low slanting base and matching everted lips. It has three facets and a ring handle. The front facet bears an engraved lion mask head. Three sections of Kufic read "And good fortune and g(ood fortune). Other decorative motifs include floral and lotus

bud designs.

Loc. V & A Inv. M51 1952  
Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, p. 159, no. 67.

No. 141  
Prov. Northwest Persia or Armenia  
Date 12th or 13th century  
Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. A brass ewer with a lion sitting on its haunches on the spout. It is embossed.

Loc. B M  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1326

No. 142  
Prov. Northwest Persia or Armenia  
Date 12th or 13th century  
Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid  
Motif Lions in isolation  
Descr. A brass candlestick with two bands of rather dog-like lions embossed in rows, shown in profile, heads turned to viewer. They are seated on their haunches and have bulbous eyes and long ears. There are lines on their bodies, legs and haunches.

Loc. Collection Harari (former)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl.1321

No. 143  
Prov. Northwest Persia or Armenia  
Date 12th or 13th century

Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. A brass ewer decorated on the spout with an inscription and a lion. The lion is shown in profile, head turned towards the viewer, seated on its haunches. It has bulbous eyes, a body decorated with a scale pattern and cross hatching on its haunches. The digits of the paw are shown.  
 Loc. H M  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol 6, pl. 1323

No. 144  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 12th or 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid  
 Motif Lions (?) in isolation  
 Descr. An ewer of brass. There are two animals on the spout  
 Loc. M L  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1328

No. 145  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date 12th to 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. A small jug with the handle in the shape of a lion  
 Loc. M M A  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl. 1309c

No. 146

Prov. Persia ?  
 Date 12th to 13th century?  
 Med. Metalwork, bronze  
 Motif Lion head  
 Descr. A tethering ring, the front portions stylized lion head.  
 The eyes consist of drilled geometric facets.  
 Loc. V & A Inv. No M 48 1959  
 Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, p. 135, No. 64

No. 147  
 Prov. Caucasus  
 Date 12th to 13th century  
 Med. Lion and other animals  
 Motif Metalwork, bronze  
 Descr. A charcoal basin with a relief frieze. The frieze includes  
 a pacing lion  
 Loc.  
 Ref. Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p. 164, Fig. 132

No. 148  
 Prov. Persia, Khorasan  
 Date Early 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, brass  
 Motif Lions in isolation  
 Descr. An ewer with engraved and inlaid decoration in silver,  
 copper and black composition. The decoration is divided  
 into sections. Inscriptions in kufic and thuluth feature  
 prominently along with a band of naskhi. Other decoration  
 consists of two seated lions on either side of the pouring  
 lip executed in a raised and engraved design. Behind the

lions on the neck of the vessel are beads. The lions are seated with rings around the body and legs, the face frontal with bulging eyes. Other decoration consists of ibex heads, knots, rosetted and lotus flowers. the inscriptions are as follows:

Upper inscription on neck (kufic)

("May it belong) with bliss, divine grace/good fortune, immunity, A/,  
divine solicitude, contentment, l/asting life to its owner!"

Lower band neck (naskhi)

"Might, auspicious fate, good fortune, felicity, immunity, lasting life, p(erpetually)."

Inscription on shoulder (thuluth)

"Might, suspicious fate, good fortune, felicity, divine support, plenitude, divine solicitude, contentment, immunity, lasting life, p(erpetually)."

Inscriptions on body

"With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, immunity, plenitude, divine fav(our)."

"With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, divine solicitude, immunity, A."

"With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, divine favour, immunity."

"With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, divine solicitude, immunity, A-A."

"With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, immunity, divine favour, A-A."

"With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, immunity, divine



solicitude, plen(itude)."

"With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, immunity, divine favour, constan(cy)."

An upper frieze reads

"Might, auspicious fate, g/ood fortune, div/ine solicitude, con/tentment, plen/itude, im/munity, tranquillity/to its owner."

A lower frieze reads

"With felicity, divine grace, kar-la (sic.), spiritual integrity, that which makes victorious, plenitude, victory....., lasting life to its owner."

Loc. V & A Inv. No. 592 1898  
Ref. Melikian Chirvani, islamic metalwork, pp. 114-118, No. 45.

No. 149  
Prov. Persia  
Date Early 13th century  
Med. Metalwork, engraved  
Motif Lions in isolation, horsemen  
Descr. The lid of a surgical case decorated with two engraved panels, one of which shows confronted lions, while the other depicts a battle between horsemen. The lions sit on their haunches with faces towards the front.  
Loc. Collection Madame Marguerite Paul-Mallon (former)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.3, p. 2485, fig. 816.

No. 150  
Prov. Western Persia  
Date 1st half of 13th century

Med.	Brass, engraved
Motif	Lion as zodiac sign
Descr.	<p>Candlestick. Decorated with signs of the zodiac. Leo is shown as a lion walking from right to left with its head turned to face the viewer. A huge sun consists of a human mask with twenty radiating pentagons, each inlaid with a central silver fillet.</p> <p>Inscription engraved and inlaid with silver, on the base, written in kufic</p> <p>Upper inscription:</p> <p>"Might and lasting life, laudation and praise! Magnificence, elevation and splendour! Godliness, beneficence, and praise!"</p> <p>praise!"</p> <p>In dished area, groups of letters repeated.</p> <p>3rd epigraphic band</p> <p>"might and l/asting life, l/audation/and praise/magnificence and grandeur."</p> <p>4th inscription</p> <p>"Might and lasting life, laudation/and praise, magnificence/and grandeur godliness and beneficence/forbearance and reserve, and A!/knowledge and fidelity and A!/and lasting life to its owner."</p> <p>A later inscription in naskhi, dating from the 18th or 19th century, gives the name Muhammad.</p>
Loc.	V & A Inv. No 775 1892
Ref.	Melikian Chirvani, <u>Islamic Metalwork</u> , pp.173-174, Fig.76
No.	151
Prov.	Northwest Persia or Armenia
Date	13th century

Med. Metalwork, engraved  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. A brass pumice holder in the shape of a lion kneeling couchant. it has its face to the viewer, ears pricked up, eyebrows and collar marked, and a bulbous nose. There is a band of ornament, possibly floriated inscription on the side of the body and mythical birds. Claws are shown in rudimentary fashion at the front. The haunches and tail at the back seem meant to be attached to another object.  
 Loc. Collection Harari (former)  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, vol.6, pl.1306c

No. 152  
 Prov. Ayyubid, Mesopotamia  
 Date 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, engraved  
 Motif Lion as zodiac sign.  
 Descr. Lid of pen-box. The zodiac signs are in roundels around the outer band of the central medallion of the pen-box. Leo is a pacing lion with a radiant human-faced sun behind him. The planet signs occupy the inner ring and a princely figure with a sunburst crown occupies the centre. Only six of the planets are represented.  
 Loc. M C M B No 2119  
 Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p. 258, Fig. 210

No. 153  
 Prov. possibly Persia, Khorasan  
 Date 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, engraved

Motif            Lion as zodiac sign

Descr.           Bowl. Decorative motifs include aces of hearts, fillets, a frieze of animated naskhi. A second decorative border encloses signs of the zodiac, except for Sagittarius and Aquarius. None of the signs are shown in the photographs. On the underside is a star of Solomon, while within the bowl six fishes swim around a winged woman-headed lioness. The inscription reads "Perpetual might, growing success, rising fortune, spiritual integrity, lasting life to its owner."

Loc.             V & A Inv. No ROT 1 1974

Ref.             Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 132-134, Fig. 61

No.              154

Prov.            prob. Western Persia

Date             13th century

Med.             Metalwork, engraved and inlaid

Motif            Lion head

Descr.           A mortar of metal with a low slanting base supporting an octagonal section. The decoration consists of scroll work and lotus buds and an inscription repeats a series of letters. A lion head holds the ring.

Loc.             V & A Inv. No. 207 1892

Ref.             Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 159-160, No. 68

No.              155

Prov.            Western Persia

Date             13th century

Med.             Metalwork, brass engraved and inlaid

Motif            Lion head

Descr.      A mortar with an octagonal base and ring handle, the front of which is moulded as a feline mask. The engraved decoration consists of palmettes and floral motifs. An inscription runs around the upper rim. The mask has triangular eyes and Chinese type eyebrows. The inscription reads:  
 "Perpetual mi/ght, a(scending) fa/te immune (life)/rising lu/ck to/tal victory."  
 A lower inscription reads  
 "With bliss/divine grace/good fortune fel/icity/immunity, divine sup/port and las(ting life)?/.

Loc.        V &A Inv. No 466 1876  
 Ref.        Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 160-162, No. 69

No.         156  
 Prov.       Sultanate of Rum (?) Armenia(?)  
 Date        13th century  
 Med.        Metalwork, inlaid  
 Motif       Lion being hunted by humans  
 Descr.      A candlestick, the socket of which is decorated by three panels. All enclose birds addorsed regardant. The tubular shaft is decorated by a series of inlaid scenes. A drinker holds a goblet which a musician plays the tambourine in the first scene. The second one shows a woman dancing to the music of a flute, a goblet stands on the ground. In the third scene a musician sits cross legged plucking a lute, while a tottering figure who may be a buffoon walks towards him, goblet in one hand, gesturing with the other. In scene four two revellers raise their goblets as they sit cross-legged side by side. On the shoulder are birds enclosed in roundels flanked by lions, wolves, quadrupeds

and human faced lions. On the sides are four hunting scenes, framed by lobed medallions. They alternate with single seated figures illustrating wine drinking and music playing. In the first one a galloping horseman, standing in his stirrups releases an arrow at the rampant feline. A bird flies behind the horse. The feline has a very long tail. In the second scene a horseman is again galloping, he has a hawk or kestrel resting on his outstretched left hand. In the third scene, a horseman kills a lion with a sword as his horse shies. In the fourth scene a mounted horseman stands in the stirrups ready to hit a dragon with a buckler in his left hand and a dagger in his right hand.

Loc. V & A No. M711 1910  
 Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 358-360, No. 168

No. 157  
 Prov. Sultanate of Rum (?) Armenia (?)  
 Date 13th century  
 Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid  
 Motif Winged lions and other animals  
 Descr. Candlestick. The sides of the socket have four polylobed medallions, widely spaced, enclosing seated figures. The first figure is seated cross-legged on a throne or raised platform symbolised by a rectangular area open on one side. He raises a goblet to his lips. A bowl loaded with fruit symbolised by three disks in a pyramid stands on the ground on the right. To his left is another figure seated on a throne, indicated in the same manner, this personage holds an almond shaped object in his or her right hand. The third figure is turned away from these two but holds a similar object in his or her hand. The tubular shaft has

an epigraphic frieze covering the entire space. Cutting across the shafts of lettering are two roundels on opposite sides enclosing flowers. The shoulder is decorated with figurative scenes. In lobed medallions there is a figure of a rider at full gallop spearing a dragon. A hunter on horseback hawking, a rider galloping, his left arm extended behind him. The panels between the lobed medallions deal with life at court on the king's return. In panel one a standing figure holds a big bird, possibly a wild goose or duck in his folded arms, he stands on the left of a royal drinker. Another figure on his right is a courtier. In the second panel a seated king is flanked on the left by a seated princess and on the right by a standing cup bearer holding up a goblet. An ewer is laid on the ground. In the third panel a seated ruler is surrounded by musicians, seated cross-legged, playing a flute and harp respectively. The decoration on the sides is a more complex version of the above. Rosettes enclose rider and court scenes appear on panels. Animated scroll work appears on the two outer borders, the animal heads including salukis, mules, birds and human faces. The roundels break the upper scrolling border into three sections enclosing a double-headed eagle, two rampant winged lion, addorsed regardant and two unicorns. In the central area hunting scenes enclosed in lobed medallions are variations of scenes on the shoulders. A rider spears a dragon, a rider gallops arm outstretched to allow his hawk to rest. In the third medallion, a horseman standing in his stirrups, right hand lifted upwards ready to ward off a lion shown under the belly of the horse.

Loc.

V & A

Ref.

Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 360-363, No. 169

No. 158  
Prov. Siirt/Kurdistan/Armenia  
Date mid 13th century  
Med. Bronze inlaid with silver and gold  
Motif Man hunting lion  
Descr. A candlestick decorated with interlace, running animals and large roundels. In the roundels are three horsemen. The first is hawking, the second is killing a lion which has leapt up in front of his horse, he uses a sword or spear and cuts across its midriff. The third horseman spears a serpent like reptile, a cheetah sits on the horse behind him. Figures inhabit six smaller roundels.  
Loc. N E S  
Ref. Allan, Islamic Metalwork, No. 7, pp. 58-61

No. 159  
Prov. Persia  
Date 13th century  
Med. Metalwork, silver  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. A silver ewer with relief decoration consisting of foliate and animal designs. These are not very clear. A lion is the thumb stop on the handle.  
Loc. M D B  
Ref. Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p. 185, Fig. 152

No. 160  
Prov. Persia, Herat  
Date c. 1200  
Med. Brass inlaid with silver and copper



Motif            Lion? and other animals  
 Descr.           Ewer with lion as single animal embossed on neck. Seated  
                  lion with large staring eyes, long mane, volumetric body.  
                  Harpies on top edge of body of ewer, body vertical bands of  
                  inscription. Lion may be dog.  
 Loc.             B M  
 Ref.             (18)48. 8-5.1.

No.              161  
 Prov.            Persia  
 Date             c. 1200  
 Med.             Brass inlaid with silver  
 Motif            Lion and other animals  
 Descr.           Ewer with lion on neck, seated, bulbous eyes, long mane.  
                  Animal on spout may be feline, harpies on body of ewer.  
                  Interlaced and figural decoration on body.  
 Loc.             B M  
 Ref.             (18)48. 8-5.2

No.              162  
 Prov.            Mesopotamian style  
 Date             1220  
 Med.             Metalwork, engraved, brass  
 Motif            Lion as zodiac sign.  
 Descr.           Pen-box. In the medallion in the centre of the inside  
                  hollow of the box, six planets revolve around the sun  
                  symbolised by pacing lion with a sun disk suspended over  
                  him. Interlaced stars filled with radiant disks serve as  
                  a background for the for the planets. The inner cover  
                  shows three medallions. An enthroned prince occupies the  
                  central medallion, flying genii hold a canopy over his head

and a pair of lions sit at the foot of the throne. The other two medallions contain musicians and dancers.

Loc. Athens, Benaki Museum, 13174  
Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p. 264, Fig. 214

No. 163  
Prov. Mesopotamia (Mosul)  
Date 1st half 13th century  
Med. Brass, inlaid copper and silver  
Motif Lion as zodiac sign  
Descr. Pen box with roundels containing zodiac signs. Leo is shown as a pacing lion being ridden by a figure whose face is a radiant sun. Inscription on inner lid.  
Loc. B M  
Ref. 1884 8-4.85

No. 164  
Prov. Northern Mesopotamia  
Date mid 13th century  
Med. Bronze  
Motif Lion as zodiac sign  
Descr. Mirror of Artuq Shah. Circular mirror, central boss consists of an eagle. Busts and inscriptions encircle this, followed by circular band containing zodiac signs. Leo is shown as a lion striding to the left, over his back a radiant sun. An outer band of inscription edges the mirror  
Loc. Harburg, Graf Oettingen-Wallerstein Coll.  
Ref. Ettinghausen, Grabar, AAI, p. 364, fig. 385.

No. 165  
Prov. Syro-Mesopotamian  
Date ca 1275  
Med. Metalwork, engraved, brass  
Motif Lions in isolation, lion as zodiac sign  
Descr. Basin. The basin is decorated in the interior with an enthroned prince with two flying genii holding a royal crown above his head while two attendants flank him and two musicians play for him. Under the throne in the centre are a pair of lions. The signs of the zodiac frame the centre picture. Leo is shown as a pacing lion with the radiant sun above.  
Loc. Tehran, Iran Bastan  
Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p.263, Fig.213

No. 166  
Prov. Persia  
Date 1281  
Med. Metalwork, engraved, brass  
Motif Lion as zodiac sign  
Descr. Signed by Mahmud ibn Sunqur. Pen-case. Inner side of lid shows the seven planets with their emblems. From left to right, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. The outer side shows the twelve zodiac signs arranged in three circles containing four signs, from left to right, 1) Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer; 2) Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio; 3) Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. The planetary depiction of the Sun shows a sunburst with a face in the middle, while the depiction of the zodiac sign Leo shows a pacing lion with a sunburst visible behind him. The lion has a looped tail ending in a dragon's

head.

Loc. B M 91.6-23.5

Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p.253, pl.205

No. 167

Prov. Yemen

Date circa 1290

Med. Metalwork, brass

Motif Lion as zodiac sign. Lion hunted by man, lion and other animals.

Descr. A metal tray. The tray is decorated with inscriptions; in the centre of the tray a medallion contains a radiating disc decorated with a lion and sun. The surrounding medallions contain six figures holding symbols of the planets, the moon represented by a crescent, Mercury by a sword and severed head and Jupiter by a bucket or well. Around this band quadrupeds run in a clockwise direction, while the third band of medallions is decorated by images of hunters or people partaking of courtly entertainments: spearing a lion which is attacking a horse, shooting at a gazelle and carrying a hawk. The fourth ring has more running quadrupeds including lions, foxes, hares, gazelles, bears, bulls, sphinxes and an elephant. The inscriptions read as follows:

On the rim

Eternal glory, safe life and increasing prosperity and enduring state, perfect safety, long-lasting command and victory and perfection and honour and increasing rewards and victory and increasing prosperity and happy state and perfect safety and safe life and long-lasting command and

growing fortune and sublimity and happy honour, victory and long-lasting command and growing fortune and happiest rewards and honour to him and health, long-lasting command and sublime honour and perpetuity to the owner.

One the walls

Glory to our master, the sultan al-Malik al-Malik al-Muzaffar, the learned, the efficient, the just, the champion of Islam, the defender (of the faith) the warrior (of the frontiers), the support (of Islam), the victorious, the triumphant, sultan of Islam, conqueror of the heretics and the rebellious, killer of the infidels and the polytheists, reviver of justice among all, protector (and) preserver of religion, (right) hand of the kings and the sultans, bearer of the sword and the knowledge, the supporter of the learned and the knowledge, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Yusif ibn Umar.

The panels on the inside

The sublime excellency, the master, the great amir, the wise, the royal supporter, the upholder of the needy, the heroic defender, the counsellor, may his glory be eternal.

Loc. M I A K 15153

Ref. Atil, Art of the Mamluks, p.62, No.14

No. 168

Prov. Mamluk, Egypt

Date ca. 1290-1310

Med. Brass, inlaid silver, gold

Motif Man hunting lion, lion and other animals, enthronement

Descr. A basin. The rim of the basin contains forty-four

quadrupeds in procession, real and fantastic, including unicorns, leopards, foxes, wild boars, griffins, and lions, chasing elephants, gazelles, deer, hares, sphinxes and camels. Four medallions contain riders. Two spear a dragon or bear. One spears a lion, the other holds a polo stick. Medallions decorate the interior, one of which shows an enthronement scene. The ruler seated cross legged, holding a cup and flanked by two attendants beneath the throne, two lions sit, heads bowed, back to back. Panels between the medallions show scenes of the hunt. One of the hunting scenes shows two riders killing a lion and bear; the second panel shows a pair of hunters attacking a leopard and a lion. The third scene shows a mounted huntsman defending himself against a lion which has leapt up onto his horse

Loc. M L, LP.16.

Ref. Atil, Art of the Mamluks, p.76-77, No.21.

No. 169

Prov. Egypt, Mamluk

Date late 13th early 14th century

Med. Brass, engraved

Motif Lion as zodiac sign

Descr. Bowl. One the base, the outer medallions contain the twelve signs of the zodiac, Leo is shown as a seated lion with a sunburst sun partially shown above. An inner ring shows the six planets personified as human figures and a sunburst in the middle represents the seventh planet.

Loc. Florence, Bargello, 364c.

Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p.260, fig.211.

No. 170

prov. Persia  
 Date 1305 AD  
 Med. Metalwork  
 Motif Lion and bull combat  
 Descr. The bowl shows a lion confronting a bull. The bull has a clearly marked cross on the side of its body.  
 Loc. Modena, No. 8082  
 Ref. Baer, "Fish-pond Ornaments" BSOAS, Vol.31, pl.1.

No. 171  
 Prov. Persia, Fars  
 Date circa 1300-1310  
 Med. Metalwork with champleve designs  
 Motif Lioness and other animals  
 Descr. Tray with a circular composition. The central pattern is geometrically divided into hexagons and six pointed stars. In the central cartouche is a sun disk with twelve pointed rays and added triangles at intervals. Six cross-legged figures are alternately raising goblets to their lips and resting their lips and resting their hands on their thighs. Other seated figures on the outer band, look through moon crescents held up with both hands. Twelve animals in a band around the central roundel run in an anti-clockwise direction. They are a cheetah, hare, saluki, mountain goat, saluki, saluki, cheetah, hare, lioness, humped bull dog, fox or wolf. An epigraphic border in thuluth runs thus:  
 "Glory to our lord, the exalted king, the celebrated Sultan, knowledgeable (L-A) just, triumphant, victorious. Striving in the path of the ultimate effort, the dweller of the ribat, supported by heaven, favoured by God."  
 Loc. V & A Inv. No. 717 1897

Ref.	Melikian Chirvani, <u>Islamic Metalwork</u> , pp. 207-209, No. 94
No.	172
Prov.	Western Persia
Date	circa 1300-1320
Med.	Metalwork, engraved and inlaid
Motif	Human faced winged lionesses and feline hunting
Descr.	<p>A basin. The walls have twenty rectangular panels enclosing animal scenes, forming a frieze in the lower half, while the upper half has elongated cartouches alternately framing scenes and epigraphic inscriptions. The bottom half has episodes from the <u>Shahname</u>, while the upper part shows scenes from court life. The images of the <u>Shahname</u> cycle are framed by six roundels organised around a circular composition symbolising a pool. Eleven fish dart towards an eight lobed rosette. Eleven other fish form a radiating pattern, while rows of fish swim in every direction. Three small rosettes repeat the central design. Three water fowl, probably swans, swim near the rim. The landscapes between the roundels combine country scenes with riverside scenes. In four of the five elongated panels closest to the central pool, ducks or geese swim amongst formal vegetal motifs. In the fifth panel is a rocky landscape with two hares and some birds. Six medallions enclose images relating to the life of Bahram Gur. These can be divided into two groups of three figures. The first group includes an image of a woman in a howdah carried by a dromedary. She is engaged in conversation and is probably one of the two Rumi girls brought by the Arab king Monzer who was Bahram Gur's tutor. The second medallion contains a bird with a flowing tail - the Taghri bird given</p>



by the Khaqan of Chin to Bahram Gur. On the left of the dromedary is a dragon, possibly either the monster Bahram Gur killed in India or the one he killed in Turan. The matching set of three images again consists of two medallions enclosing a fabulous bird and a dragon. The central medallion shows the mounted Bahram Gur hunting gazelles in the land of the Arab King. Dromedaries are often seen in images connected with Arab lands. Twenty panels enclose animals, set against a vegetal background. These include several gazelle, several bears and cubs, a hump-backed bull, cheetahs, one of which is hooded probably indicating that it is tame. There are several unidentifiable animals. A feline stalks an invisible prey and there are two human faced winged lionesses. The remaining figurative scenes show court figures engaged in conversation with the master of the hunt. The inscription in naskhi is a prayer for the owner:

"Might and (A-L) l/asting life, (gl)ory/and praise, o/pen-handedness and generosity/(for)be(arance) and (... 'a)/reserve, and A to its owner."

"Might and lasting life, glory A/open-handedness and generosity and A to its owner."

Loc. V & A Inv. No 546 1905

Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 202-207, No. 93

No. 173

Prov. Syria (Aleppo)

Date circa 1320

Med. Bronze, engraved

Motif Lion and zodiac sign, lion and other animals

Descr. A bronze mirror with pictures of the zodiac. The lion

paces with the sun above and behind him. A sunburst in the centre of the mirror has a lion, ox, leopard and other animals circling it and an epigraphic inscription.

Loc. Saray Museum Istanbul

Ref. Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p. 175, Fig. 141

No. 174

Prov. Persia

Date Early 14th century

Med. Metalwork

Motif Lion hunted by man

Descr. Persian candlestick from Shiraz, probably. Scenes of the hunt decorate the truncated body. The friezes bordering the main body show flying cranes and game animals. In the central register are various combinations of fighting animals. Four polylobed medallions contain a single mounted figure in each. Two are lancing a lion and bear respectively in the back. One is attacked from the rear by a bear who tries to climb on to his horse, while the other leans forward to kill a lion with a sword in the neck.

Loc. Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. No 1909 547

Ref. Baer, Metalwork, p. 231-232, Fig. 190

No. 175

Prov. Persia

Date Early 14th century

Med. Brass inlaid with silver

Motif Lion and other animals with human figures.

Descr. Casket with sloping shoulders standing on four legs, animated inscription around shoulders of lid, interlace and

scrolling decoration. Body has interlace panels surrounded by horizontal band of confronted animals at top and bottom, while vertical panels have standing figures. Animals include striding lions shown with curled tail, head held up, rounded eyes, pricked back ears, manes delineated by lines and muscular bodies.

Loc. B M

Ref. 1957 8-1.1.

No. 176

Prov. Northwest Persia

Date 1st half of 14th century

Med. Metalwork

Motif Lion as zodiac sign.

Descr. Base of a candlestick. Nine sided concave body, naskhi inscription. Nine signs of the zodiac shown, but photograph is not clear enough to tell whether Leo is one of the signs shown. The inscription reads as follows "Glory, success, power, good fortune, peace, good health, care, glory, ease, continuity, well-being and lasting abundance."

Loc. K C

Ref. Fehérvári, Islamic Metalwork, p. 113-114, No. 138, pl. 46b.

No. 177

Prov. Persia

Date 14th century

Med. Brass with silver inlay

Motif Man hunting lion

Descr. A bowl with sloping shoulders and deep rim decorated with

foliate scrolling and divided into five registers by plain bands. Middle register contains standing figures and roundels. Roundel contains man on horseback swording a lion. The horse is rearing up, lion is under front hooves, head turned towards rider, it has a powerful body, tail curled between back legs and head turned looking up at rider, ears laid back. Another roundel shows a man on horseback leaning back from his horse, swording a lion who has reared up over the back haunches of the horse. He holds the lion's head. Another roundel shows a lion running in contrary direction to the horse, head up. A man on horseback prepares to lance the lion. The bowl is decorated inside with circling fish. Swans circle on the outside base of the bowl.

Loc. B M

Ref. Reg. no. 1881 8-2. 21

No. 178

Prov. Persia, Fars

Date 1351-1352

Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid

Motif Lion hunted by man

Descr. A bowl decorated with bands of ornament including a frieze of horsemen against a scrolling ground. Below this is a chain pattern, a solar rosette carrying jointed rays at its tips and moon crescents. The frieze is arranged in two cycles of three scenes each taken largely from the Shahname. Melikian-Chirvani suggests that the first scene takes place before the capture of Zahhak by Faridun: an investiture, two mounted men face each other upholding a headdress, four other mounted figures, two lancers and two

archers stand on either side representing the army. In the second scene Faridun captures Zahhak. Two horsemen, one holding a spear, the other a bow, are on the right, standing for the army. Facing them on the other side is a figure mounted on an ox, a bull-headed mace resting on his shoulders. Marching by, hands tied behind his back is Zahhak, two snakes rising from his shoulders. In the third scene a horseman turns sideways to attach a lion. A royal personage riding a small elephant appears in the centre of scene four. At the right are two horsemen holding a doubleheaded spear in one case and a bow in the other. At the left both horsemen hold double-headed spears. The meeting may illustrate the story of Zal mounted on a male elephant being taken to Manuchehr by Sam. In scene five two polo players play and in scene six Bahram Gur riding a quadruped with Azade mounted behind him playing the harp, is hunting gazelles. The inscription is written in naskhi: " Made by the servant/Turanshah/owned by the servant Muhammad/b. Muhammad b. 'Abdullah/al-Jurjani/in the year/two./and fifty/and seven hundred..."

Loc. V & A Inv. No 760 1889

Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 223-229, No. 104

No. 179

Prov. Western Persia

Date 14th century

Med. Metal, engraved

Motif Lioness, lion as zodiac sign

Descr. Bowl and cover. Decoration of bowl arranged in three concentric borders. The upper border encloses an epigraphic band. Six roundels contain figures of horsemen.

Six roundels divide the central border into sections. They enclose lotus blossoms. Animals fill the intervals: fox or wolf, cheetah, hares, dogs, winged human faced lioness, and a doe. The third frieze consists of twelve roundels containing zodiac signs. Leo is shown as a lion seated on its hind legs, looking backwards towards a solar disc with eight triangles representing rays. This bowl is a jam-e jahan-nama bowl, a 'world-showing bowl'. On the bottom of the inside surface are four geese and eight fishes arranged in pairs. The inscription in the frieze is written in naskhi:

"May the Creator of the World be your friend May the head of the aster be by your side May your lot be in accordance with your wishes May the Lord of the Universe be your Guardian May your Soul be merry and your bosom be adorned May...freed from grief. Epigraphic friezes, roundels enclosing seated figures participating in wine drinking and animal scenes of composite birds and gazelles along with geese make up the rest of the decoration. The inscriptions written in kufic are as follows:

Upper inscription: "With godliness, bliss, bliss god(liness)..."

The lower inscription reads "With bliss, bliss, bliss, godliness ..."

Loc. V & A Inv. No. 745 1889

Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 184-187, Fig. 83

No. 180

Prov. Persia

Date 14th century

Med. Metalwork, bronze

Motif Lion and dragon

Descr. A brazier, on it two sets of elongated intertwined animals,  
 one a dragon and the other a lion.  
 Loc. Collection Harari  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol 6, pl. 1379b

No. 181  
 Prov. Egypt, Mamluk  
 Date 14th century  
 Med. Metalwork, engraved  
 Motif Lion as a zodiac sign  
 Descr. Ewer. The seven planets are shown in medallions around the  
 neck. Twelve signs of the zodiac appear on the body. Leo  
 is shown as a pacing lion with a sun face in the middle,  
 enclosed in a circle. There are two epigraphic bands:  
 "Lasting glory, good life, continued power, high  
 prosperity, perfect generosity, perpetual bliss and  
 continuance to its owner." Second band: "You who drink  
 the cool water this you must say, definitely: Drink and  
 utter 'Accursed is he who deprived Husain of water  
 wickedly.'

Loc.  
 Ref. Rice, BSOAS, Vol. 20 (1957), p. 495

No. 182  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date Late 14th century  
 Med. Brass inlaid with silver and gold  
 Motif Lion and men  
 Descr. A bowl with band of inscription, interrupted by roundels.  
 One roundel contains an enthroned seated figure with an  
 attendant on either side, in front of the throne, a feline

animal, possibly a lion, walks - it has upheld head, powerful legs and powerful tail. Another roundel contains a similar scene but with a swan in front of the throne, all set against a foliate scrolling design.

Loc. B M

Ref. Reg. No. 1901 6-6.3

No. 183

Prov. Northeast Persia

Date 14th - 15th century

Med. Bronze

Motif Lion head

Descr. Faucet from a public bath in the shape of a lion head. Lion head, rendered in an abstract manner, mouth forms spout of tap, strongly marked eyes and brows. Bird perched on top of faucet.

Loc. Private coll.

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, fig. 14, p. 16

No. 184

Prov. Persia, Fars

Date Early 15th century

Med. Metalwork, partly inlaid

Motif Lion being hunted by man

Descr. A bowl decorated on the sides by a single frieze framed by silver inlaid fillets divided into eight sections by roundels. The same design is repeated on each roundel of six open intersecting circles. The four figurative scenes show two riders performing a variety of activities. The riders carry polo mallets, spear a running animal, possibly



a lion, cross their polo mallets and fight each other. The inscription is in slender thuluth supporting a fifteenth century date. It reads as follows: "Might to our Lord the exalted (A!) sultan, the master that curbs (A!) nations the most just, the most knowledgeable khaqan/the Ilkhan of the sultans of the Arabs, L-A!"

Loc. V & A Inv. No. 1372 1874

Ref. Melikian-Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 245, No. 108

No. 185

Prov. Persia

Date 15th century

Med. Metalwork

Motif (World mirror)

Descr. Shows the planets and the zodiac signs, in isolated representations. There are exceptions, the sun in the centre of the mirror is mounted on the back of a lion.

Loc.

Ref. Hartner, AI (1938) Fig. 19

No. 186

Prov. Western Persia

Date late 16th early 17th century

Med. Metalwork, engraved

Motif Feline and other animals

Descr. Winebowl. Upper part consists of an epigraphic border divided into ten sections framed by cartouches interlaced with animal medallions. The animal medallions include: feline bending to sniff its paw, doe, wolf, hare, antelope, feline, ibex, wolf, feline and a hare. The inscription is

in nasta'aliq and reads:

"In the desert of my love for you I walked fast I saw  
bloodthirsty blacks, two thousand of them. Each one told  
me in the Sufi language when you have the bowl in hand,  
tilt it but do not spill it."

The second distich: "In the desert of my love for you, I  
wandered along time, more distraught than myself, I saw  
none."

The third distich: "The dust-covered Majnun took to the  
desert, how well did he isolate himself."

The fourth distich: "O God, since this design of glorious  
character Has come to an end."

Loc. V & A Inv. No 404 1884

Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 330-332, No 151

No. 187

Prov. Western Persia

Date Early 17th century

Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid

Motif Lions and other animals

Descr. Torch stand. There are figurative panels on the main  
shaft. On the upper half six panels alternately enclose  
two gazelles, two felines, lions, leopards, tigers. On the  
lower half six panels frame single figures. The figures  
are kneeling and sitting, facing each other in pairs. All  
hold objects or make conversational gestures. Scenes of  
feasting in the garden are traditional. The inscriptions  
are written in nasta'aliq. The upper band contains two  
distichs of a mystical ode written by Fahmi-Kashani:  
"O candle like the butterfly in awe of you I die/  
About your head I turn and at your feet I die/

Like the ant I build a house on your path/  
 That as you cross it under your feet I may die."  
 The inscription on the foot is the beginning of another  
 mystical ode often found on Safavid torchstands. Composed  
 by Ali Tarshiz also known as Ali Khorasani:  
 "The lamp of the Lucid I see brightened by your face. All  
 those who have a soul I see their souls turned towards  
 you/you O Sultan of the World: may not one hair fall from  
 your head/for I see the world - a thread of a single hair  
 from your head.

Loc. V & A Inv. No 17 1931  
 Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 326-327, No. 148

No. 188  
 Prov. Western Persia  
 Date 1602-1603  
 Med. Metalwork, engraved  
 Motif Lions hunting other animals  
 Descr. Ewer. Decoration in repeat patterns, figurative scenes  
 broken up into medallions enclosing single figures.  
 Medallions enclose animal silhouettes standing out against  
 scrolling ground. Upper row includes a gazelle, several  
 does, an onyx, ibex or mountain goat and an onager. The  
 second row down has the same animals but also has a lion  
 devouring a doe, another lion stalking an onager. The  
 third row includes does, an onyx, an ibex and possibly a  
 fox. A lion stalks the fox. The fourth row contains the  
 same animals with the exception of the lion and fox. These  
 are the animals of the wilderness. The spout is engraved  
 with inscriptions in nasta'aliq. "May the issue be

favourable...the servant of the king of Divine Trusteeship Qasim."

Loc. V & A Inv. No. 458 1876

Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 322-326, No. 147

No. 189

Prov. Western Persia

Date circa 1630-1650

Med. Metalwork, engraved and inlaid

Motif Men hunting lions and lionesses

Descr. A footed bowl, a continuous epigraphic band decorates the upper section, while the rest of the decoration comprises six hunting scenes. In the first scene a galloping rider kills a running ibex with a scimitar. A hunting dog runs in the opposite direction and an ibex is lassoed by another hunter. In the second scene a hunter stands resting an arm on a gun, looks back at another rider turning back to shoot an arrow at a running ibex, doe or onager and an antelope. Two hares run along side the horse. Further left a dog runs at a wounded doe or onager. In the third episode a hunter at full gallop brings down his sword on a leaping lioness, while the male leaps at him. A second rider gallops in the opposite direction holding a spear in both hands. In the fourth scene a hunter lassoes a leaping quadruped. Another hunter is about to release an arrow at two flying geese, while a third goose is falling. A hare looks at a walking hunter who has just released an arrow at it. A passing lioness looks back at the previous scene. In the fifth scene a horseman is just about to stab a feline which has leapt on the back of his horse. With his right hand he grips the head of the feline. Further left

a kneeling hunter looks at his dog. In the final scene two falconers ride towards each other. A hawk has captured a goose and another goose is falling. A hunter walks between the two riders holding a long rifle against his chest.

Loc. V & A Inv. No M34 1912  
Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 332-333, No 152

No. 190  
Prov. Western Persia  
Date 1678-79  
Med. Metalwork, engraved  
Motif Lions playing, lioness hunting  
Descr. A bowl and cover. Epigraphic band on neck, escutcheon shaped cartouche marks beginning from end of inscription. A continuous figurative frieze framed by two bands of scroll work decorates the body. The animals are arranged in ten groups and include a lioness devouring an ibex and a lion crouching in the grass while its mate rolls in play, Does, hares, wolves, an angora goat, moufflons, leopards, a lioness biting the back of another lioness affectionately and a lion leaping make up the rest of the animals. These are the animals of the wilderness. The inscription in nasta'aliq calls God's blessings on the fourteen protected ones:  
"God may thy blessings descend upon al-Mustafa Muhammad, al-Murtada 'Ali, the Virgin Fatima, the two grandsons al-Hasan and al-Husayn! May thy blessings descend upon Zayn al-'Ibad 'Ali, al-Biqir Muhammad, al-Sadiq Ja'far, al-Kazim Musa, al-Rida' Ali, al-Taqi Muhammad, al-Naqi 'Ali, al-Zabi al-'Askani fal-hasan! May thy blessings descend upon the Guide, the Mahdi (Guided One), the Lord of time. In the

year 1089...."

The patron's name is given as "His  
Servant/Ebrahim/b./Khalil/A/llah."

The cover has an animated frieze on the rim which includes twelve scenes. A wolf downs a doe, two hares leap as a lion runs after them, an antelope and doe gallop towards the west while a leopard jumps in the same direction, over a lion crouched in the grass watching the antelope and the doe. Hares sit in the grass as a lion rolls over on its back. Two hares jump and a bear and leopard fight. An ibex and its mate watch the fight. A mountain goat and its mate play. A man runs, arms raised while another man shoots a bolt at two wolves. A nasta'aliq inscription consists of a Shia prayer to 'Ali "Call unto 'Ali him that causes warders to appear/ You shall find him your help in distress/Every care every sorrow shall vanish/Through thy greatness O God! O God! O God! Through thy prophethood O Muhammad! O Muhammad! O Muhammad! Through thy Divine Trusteeship O 'Ali! O 'Ali! O 'Ali!."

Loc. V & A Inv. No. 983 1886

Ref. Melikian Chirvani, Islamic Metalwork, pp. 336-337, No. 155

No. 191

Prov. Persia

Date 18th century

Med. Metalwork, carved and inlaid

Motif lion and bull combat

Descr. An iron axehead carved and inlaid with silver. On the lower part of the blade, quadrupeds, a bull, goat and other animals appear. A lion is attacking a bull between the shoulders. On the top of the blade a quadruped cavorts and looks at its own tail.

LOC.	M M A
Ref.	Pope, <u>A Survey</u> , Vol.6, pl. 1430f.
No.	192
Prov.	Qajar Iran
Date	19th century
Med.	Steel, damascened gold and silver
Motif	Lion being hunted
Descr.	Peacock and stand. On the tail are depicted Solomon with his attendants, a princely hunting scene and human busts and animals in compartments. Animals hunted include lions and ibex. Lion bounds on to back of horse, rider holds down lion's head. Enthroned figure on polygonal throne, sitting cross-legged, an attendant on each side. At base of throne are two confronted lions.
LOC.	B M
Ref.	Reg. no. 1912.7-16.1.
No.	193
Prov.	Iran
Date	Early 19th century
Med.	Metalwork, silver
Motif	Lion and sun
Descr.	Circular silver arm piece with lion and sun. Lion strides to right, tail up over back, mouth open, short lines for ruff and mane. Talismanic square rises from back, face peers out, corolla of flames. Lion and space around lion filled with talismanic inscriptions.
Loc.	Private coll.

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, fig. 53, p. 40

No. 194

Prov. Iran

Date Early 20th century

Med. Metalwork, brass

Motif Lion as single image

Descr. Brass talisman in shape of lion. Lion strides to left, mouth open, ears pricked back. Tail looped into body. Talismanic marks cover lion completely.

Loc. Private coll.

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, fig. 52, p. 40

No. 195

Prov. Egypt?

Date not given (13th - 14th C?)

Med. Cast bronze/brass

Motif Lion headed jinn

Descr. Rectangular cast-bronze talisman pierced with four holes at top for suspension. One side is decorated with a lion headed jinn drawing a crescent out of a well. The other side shows seven angels above and seven animal headed jinns below. Both sides with panel and border of Coptic/pseudo-coptic.

Loc. B M

Ref. Reg. no. OA 2608.

No. 196

Prov. Egypt?



Date	not given (13th-14th c?)
Med.	cast bronze/brass
Motif	lion and jinn
Descr.	<p>Rectangular cast-bronze talisman with trapezoidal handle.</p> <p>One side with jinn mounted on snake-tailed lion headed creature, attended by bearded figures bearing censers, with cloven feet, short tunics and pointed hats. Below, three figures similarly dressed in lobed arcade. Border of pseudo-hieroglyphics. Other side with panel of pseudo-kufic/Syriac and two rows of seven horned figures, the upper row naked and linking wings, the lower wearing short tunics and in a lobed arcade.</p>
Loc.	B M
Ref.	Reg. no OA 2609.

## MINIATURE PAINTINGS

No.	197
Prov.	Persian
Date	Circa 1300
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lions hunted by man
Descr.	<p>Folio 57 from a <u>Shahnama</u> manuscript showing Bahram Gur lion hunting with a retainer. The retainer to the right of the picture is mounted on a white horse with a black mane. A lion walks alongside the horse, nearly as big as the horse. It is brown with a red mouth, pointed ears and walks with its tail in the air. There are S-shaped markings along its body and legs. The king rides a black mottled horse with a white face. He is dressed in a blue and gold brocade robe and wears a gold helmet. He faces a lion, holding a raised sword. To the left of the picture there are three lions, two are up in the air, tails flying and paws outstretched. The third lies on its back, mouth open, paws in the air, sprinkled with spots of blood. The picture is set against a gold background with a strip of green grass and white, red and mauve puff flowers. There are small blue and white Chinese clouds.</p>
Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , Vol.1, Ms. 104 pp. 11-16.

No.	198
Prov.	Persian

Date Circa 1300  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Monkey lion being killed by man  
 Descr. Folio 62 from a Shahnama manuscript shows a crowned Bahram Gur killing a monkey lion in front of the throne of Shangul, king of India. The miniature has a gold ground with a green strip dotted with white puff flowers at the bottom. The courtiers of Shangul are black faced as is Shangul himself. They sit cross-legged. Shangul is seated on a red cushion with the wings of a throne visible behind him. On the left side of the picture is a pale faced delegation and a similar throne on which is seated a crowned figure, wearing a pagoda like crown, while his courtiers wear coolie type hats. Bahram Gur is dressed in a peach coloured robe, plunging a dagger in the lion, a gaping wound is visible along the back. The lion is striped, making him look more like a tiger. He has a heavy tail and hunched up body. It is not clear to me which is the monkey portion and which is the lion. The hind leg waving in the air is shaped like a monkey's. It seems likely that the artist had seen neither of the animals.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, Ms. 104 pp. 11-16.

No. 199  
 Prov. Persian, South Provincial  
 Date 1307-8  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Enthroned king and lions  
 Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The king enthroned surrounded by

courtiers, two of whom stand behind him with crossed spears. Two lions are before the throne. The miniature is oblong with elaborate borders; it has a gilt surface. Men stand at the top with spears crossed. The king is seated in the middle with men on both sides. The king is dressed in gilt clothes and wears a gilt crown, he has a flesh coloured pink and white face, his right hand rests on his hip, while his left hand holds a goblet. Two rather indistinct lions sit at the bottom of the throne. They are sitting back to back and are gilt and brown in colour. Below are courtiers and vessels on a table. The lion on the left has an elaborate curling mane and a grinning face with lines indicating the features. The lion on the right is too badly damaged to make out the features.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 16b. OR 13506, f. 3a.

No. 200

Prov. Persian, South Provincial

Date 1307-8

Med. Miniature

Motif Lion and other animals

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion with its courtiers, leopard, wolf, gazelle and Dimna. The miniature is small and rectangular, at the bottom of the page underneath the text. It has a braid border and a red background scattered with splodgy flowers. The leopard, white with black spots, is seated to the upper right. The lion is seated to the lower right. The gazelle, pink with gilt horns, is on the upper left. A grey wolf is seated in the centre. Dimna walks head down on the lower left. The lion is seated on its

haunches, it has a gilt mane and a gilt underbelly and brown body; fine lines mark its face, its head is slightly tilted and it wears a quizzical expression. The lion is larger than the other animals.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley cat. 16b, OR 13506, f. 41a.

No. 201

Prov. Persian, South Provincial

Date 1307-8

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and other animals

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion, the gazelle, Dimna and Shanzebah the ox. The miniature is small and rectangular with a red background, green strip along the bottom and a grey rock in the centre. There are scattered splodgy flowers. Dimna, yellow in colour, is on the right. He is larger but thinner than the lion. The lion is seated on his haunches, on the lower right. He is brown with a gilt mane and underbelly and a blurred face. The faces of all the animals are unclear. A pink and gilt gazelle stands on the upper left, it has a gilt underbelly and gilt horns. The ox on the lower left stands listening to the lion; he is black and white with a gilt saddle blanket and gilt short curved horns. The lion is talking and looking down at him.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506, f. 44b.

No. 202

prov. Persian, South Provincial  
 Date 1307-8  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lion and another animal  
 Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The hare and the lion looking at their reflections in the well. The miniature occupies the upper part of the page. It has a braid border and a red background with green trees on the upper right; inhabited by birds, a green area and rocks are seen at the bottom. The well has a gilt rim and fungal pink rocks surrounding blue water. The lion and the hare stand over on the right side of the well. The lion has his hind legs on the ground. The hare seems to be resting on the side of the well. The lion is brown with a gilt underbelly and mane, with lines for ribs, he has a lined face. The hare is blue. Their faces stare back at them from the bottom of the well. The lion has a quizzical expression.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506, f. 52b.

No. 203  
 Prov. Persian, South Provincial  
 Date 1307-8  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lion and other animals  
 Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion assisted by the wolf, leopard and Dimna, treacherously attacking the camel. The miniature occupies the upper part of the page, it has a red background and scattered splotchy flowers. A tree to the left is green with golden fruit, a green strip runs across the bottom. Animals include a wolf, a leopard black with

white spots and a blackbird with a gilt halo. The lion sprawls from the upper right, tail up, hind legs outstretched. He has a furrowed face, gilt mane and underbelly. The leopard also leaps on the camel from above. Dimna, in yellow, lies biting the camel on the back of the neck. The camel, grey in colour, is lying on its back, its head is thrown back, mouth open braying.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506, f. 63b.

No. 204

Prov. Persian, South Provincial

Date 1307-8

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and other animals

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion attacking Shanzabeh watched by Kalila, Dimna, the wolf and the leopard. The miniature has a red background with a green strip at the bottom. Kalila, yellow in colour, is seated on the upper right. Dimna, in pink, is seated on the lower right. The lion, standing on his back paws, is in the middle. The lion is brown with a gilt underbelly, his head is defaced, however, he seems to be biting Shanzabeh the ox on the back. Shanzabeh has black and white stripes and is wearing a gilt saddle blanket. The lion is the biggest animal in the miniature.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506, f. 66b.

No. 205

prov. Persian, South Provincial  
 Date 1307-8  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lion and other animals  
 Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The leopard telling the lion of the jackal's treachery. The miniature has a red background with a green strip at the bottom. There are trees inhabited by large blue and gilt birds. The lion is seated on the right. He has a brown body, gilt underbelly and mane, lines indicate facial markings and ribs. His ears are pricked up as he listens intently to the leopard. The leopard, seated to the left, is smaller, he has a white body with black spots, head cocked. The lion is much bigger than the leopard.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506. f. 74a (above).

No. 206  
 Prov. Persian, South Provincial  
 Date 1307-8  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lion and his mother  
 Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion and his mother. There are two trees, with the lion and his mother talking under them. The trees are inhabited by two birds in bright colours with gilt haloes. The lion is seated to the right and the lioness is seated to the left. The lion is darker and bigger than its mother. He is burnt umber in colour, with a gilt mane, lines indicate his ruff and ribs. The lioness to the right is seated on her haunches. Their noses are almost touching. The lioness is yellow with a much smaller



gilt mane and gilt underbelly. She has a less weighty body than the lion. She has similar facial markings and expression.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat., 16b. OR 13506. f. 74 (below).

No. 207  
Prov. Persian, South Provincial  
Date 1307-8  
Med. Miniature  
Motif The lion with other animals.  
Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion with Kalila, Dimna, the leopard and the wolf. The miniature is small and rectangular, placed near the middle of the page. It has a cable border and a red background. There are splodgy flowers and a green strip near the bottom. The animals are seated listening intently to the lion. Their faces are smudged and defaced. Kalila seated to the upper right, is pink. The lion seated to the lower right is brown and gilt. Dimna, yellow in colour, is seated to the lower left, ears cocked looking up at the lion their noses almost touching. There appear to be two wolves, seated on the upper left, grey blue in colour. The leopard is seated at the top left, and is black and white. The lion is obviously the largest animal and commands the attention of the other animals.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat., 16b OR 13506. f. 81b.

No. 208

Prov. Persian, South Provincial

Date 1307-8

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion with other animals

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna or The lion killing the ass. The miniature occupies the lower part of the page and is rectangular. It is framed by a cable border. The lion leaps from the upper right diagonally across the picture, his tail and legs stretched out indicating active movement. The ass lies on its back across the bottom of the picture. Its head is to the left of the picture, its ears are back and its neck is outstretched while its feet are kicking; it is blue-grey in colour. The lion is biting the ass on its underbelly. Dimna sits on his haunches in the upper left of the picture. He is looking up alertly, ears pricked. He is yellow in colour. The lion's face is defaced. The animals have a strong sense of movement.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506, f. 134b.

No. 209

Prov. Persian, South Provincial

Date 1307-8

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and other animals.

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion with the wolf, leopard and jackal. The miniature occupies a rectangle on the upper portion of the page. It has a red background with cable border and splodgy flowers. A tree in the centre of the picture is inhabited by a colourful bird with a gilt halo.

The tree has a fungal pink trunk. A leopard is seated on the upper right its front haunches only are visible. A lion sits in front of the leopard. It is brown with a gold gilt mane and underbelly. The lion has his head cocked as he talks to Dimna. The jackal is yellow. The wolf, grey, is seated to the right looking at the bird in the tree. Another animal, possibly Kalila, is seated looking up at the tree.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506, f. 161b.

No. 210

Prov. Persian, South Provincial

Date 1307-8

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and other animals

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion with its mother and two gazelles. The miniature occupies the lower part of the page. The background is red with a green strip along the bottom. Two trees are inhabited by birds. The male lion is seated on the right slightly above his mother, he is dark brown with a gilt mane. His mother is seated slightly below and to the centre, she is lighter yellow with a gilt underbelly and less luxuriant gilt mane, her ears are pricked. Two gazelles stand on the left - they are pink with gilt underbellies, they wear shy expressions. They seem to be looking at the birds in the trees.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 16b, OR 13506, f. 163a.

No. 211  
 Prov. Baghdad School  
 Date 14th century  
 Motif Lion as a zodiac sign  
 Descr. The signs of Sagittarius and Leo; Qazwini, Aja'ib al-Makhlugat. Shown between lines of text. Sagittarius is a centaur carrying a staff, the horse is winged and the tail is dragon knotted. The lion is lying, head up. Round dots cover its face and body.  
 Loc. Library of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5 pl.854b.

No. 212  
 Prov. Persia, Il-khanid  
 Date 741/1340  
 Med. Manuscript  
 Motif Lion as zodiac sign  
 Descr. Page from Munis al-Ahrar, Il-Khanid school, showing the conjunction of the moon with the signs of Gemini, Cancer and Leo. Gemini at the top is represented by two twins holding a staff, the twins share a snake body beneath shirts. A seated figure holds a crescent. In the second scene there is a human headed crab and a figure holding a crescent. In the third scene a lion walks to the left while on the right a seated figure holds a crescent.  
 Loc. M M A  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.5, pl.818

No. 213

Prov. Arabic, Mamluk  
 Date 1354  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Dimna with the two lions  
 Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. Dimna talking to two lions, Dimna on left, seated under tree, one paw raised, gesturing. Two lions seated on haunches on right under vegetation, both seen to be male, listening.  
 Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Pococke 400, fol. 41b.  
 Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, Fig. 18.

No. 214  
 Prov. Arabic - Mamluk  
 Date 1354  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Dimna with the lion and ox  
 Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. The lion sits on the right, head cocked listening, heavily maned, golden colour, expressive eyes, bulbous nose, grey muzzle, lines for ribs, tail wrapped over back. Ox on left standing, black and white with brown curved horns. Jackal, brown-orange, brown neck. Ears back, leaning forward and up to lion. Vegetation in background. Text above and below.  
 Loc. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pococke 400.  
 Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna p. 20, fol. 45a.

No. 215  
 Prov. Arabic - Mamluk  
 Date 1354  
 Med. Miniature

Motif The hare and the lion

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion stand on right, on fungal pink rocks, looks over at pool, in fact right paw is dipped in pool. Lion tawny gold, lighter underbelly, darker mane, head bowed looking at reflection in water. Hare sits on grass to left of pool. Water blue, broken into ripples and honeycomb patterns, lion reflected up from left, hare from right, upper bodies and heads only.

Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Pococke 400.

Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna p. 22. fol. 51b.

No. 216

Prov. Arabic - Mamluk

Date 1354

Med. Miniature

Motif The Lion and the Elephant fighting

Descr. Kalila wa Dimna. The lion is locked in combat with the elephant. Elephant on right, large, grey, gold cap on head, trunk wrapped around lion's head. Lion golden yellow head looking up, squeezed by trunk. Left paw up scratching lion's head. Elephant's tusks seem to have run through lion's body.

Loc. Bodleian, Oxford.

Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, p. 24, fol. 58b.

No. 217

Prov. Arabic - Mamluk

Date 1354

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion, the crow, the wolf and the jackal attacking the

camel

Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. The camel lies on its back, contorted, hooves kicking, neck arched around, mouth open. Lion on right, rips open belly, standing on hind legs, front paws on camel, tearing with his teeth, jackal on lower left, stands on hind legs, tears at camel's neck. Wolf - red in colour with brown neck tears at camel's neck further up, also on left. Vegetation behind animals.

Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Pococke 400.

Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, p. 25, fol. 60a.

No. 218

Prov. Arabic, Mamluk

Date 1354

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and the ox fighting

Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. Lion on left, ox on right, lion nearly as big as ox. Ox is hunched, left front leg off ground, right front hoof barely touching ground. Head bowed wears collar around neck. Lion, grasping upwards, left paw on ox's hump, supporting himself while he bites into ox's back. Vegetation behind.

Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, p. 28. fol. 63a.

No. 219

Prov. Arabic, Mamluk

Date 1354

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion with his mother

Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. Lion sitting on haunches on left, head down, tail between legs of frame. Tawny with darker mane. Lioness sitting on right, head up, appears to be talking. Also fairly heavily maned, but no ruff and rounder ears. Vegetation behind.

Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna p. 30, fol. 70a.

No. 220

Prov. Arabic - Mamluk

Date 1354

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and the jackal

Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. The lion sits on the right. The jackal sits on the left, head up, appears to be listening.

Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, Fig. 68, fol. 138b.

No. 221

Prov. Arabic, Mamluk

Date 1354

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion with the jackal and wolves

Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. the lion is seated on the right listening. The jackal and wolves are seated on left, talking and gesturing to the lion. Vegetation behind animals.

Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Pococke 400.

Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, Fig. 69, fol. 142b.



No. 222  
 Prov. Arabic  
 Date 1354  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lioness finds her cubs killed and skinned  
 Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. The lioness sits on the right, head down, right paw raised, looking troubled. On the left, separated by a tree, are two cubs rolled up together.  
 Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford.  
 Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, Fig. 76, fol. 150a.

No. 223  
 Prov. Arabic, Mamluk  
 Date 1354  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lioness eats plants, having forsaken meat  
 Descr. From Kalila wa Dimna. The lioness walking along, looks thin, eating a plant. The lioness is heavily maned, two clumps of vegetation, one either side of miniature.  
 Loc. Bodleian Library, Oxford.  
 Ref. Atil, Kalila wa Dimna, Fig. 77, fol. 150b.

No. 224  
 Prov. Persian, Shiraz  
 Date Part dated 1397  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man seizing crown from two lions  
 Descr. A Shahnama manuscript. Folio 151b shows Bahram Gur seizing the crown from between two lions attacking the lions with

his mace. His rival Khusrau watches, biting his finger in amazement. The purple hill is scattered with red and green flowers and foliage and white and pink chrysanthemum type flowers. Khusrau wearing a crown and dressed in orange and green robes sits on a brown horse. Six men all apparently on horseback, peer over the brow of the hill. They wear white turbans and a variety of coloured robes. Bahram himself wears a gold helmet cap, a blue skirt embroidered with gold and orange baggy trousers, he carries a gold mace. His arms are up ready to club the snarling lion. Bahram has his foot in the middle of the neck of the lion on the right. The lion on the left is roaring. The crown lies between the two lions.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.30-31, fol. 151b, Ms. 114.

No. 225

Prov. Persian

Date Late 14th century

Med. Miniature

Motif Rakhsh the horse kills lion

Descr. An illustration from the Shahnama. Folio 22 shows Rustam asleep while Rakhsh kills the marauding lion. There is a gilt sky and fungal mountains tipped in pink and blue and a small tree. Rustam is wearing armoured boots and has a bow, quiver and bull headed mace with him. He has a halo around his head. A tripod near him holds a bag. Rakhsh bites the back of the lion which has spots of blood. The lion is brown with a bear-like head and a ridged spine, its head is twisted away.

Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , Vol.3
No.	226
Prov.	Persian
Date	1400
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lion in isolation
Descr.	A folio from the <u>Nuzhat-namah</u> . It consists of a very rough simple rectangle showing a lion. The animal is brown with a snarling mouth and red tongue. The underside of the face is a lighter brown, as are the tips of the ears and the belly. It has yellow eyes. Its front paws are very big with large digits. The front of the legs are feathered with fine hairs. The back legs end in club like feet with well defined knee joints. The lion has a lashing tail. There are faint lines on the body and a few hairs to indicate the mane. It is snarling at a green tree. The ground is self-coloured with red and yellow clumps of foliage and leaves spotted with black.
Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , Vol.1, pp.32-33, Ms. 115.
No.	227
Prov.	Persian
Date	1400
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lion? or bear? in isolation
Descr.	A folio taken from the <u>Nuzhat Namah</u> showing a rather

peculiar animal. The animal is boar-like with short tusks, thin attenuated legs. In the rectangle below is a grey animal with lion like feet and ears and possibly a mane along its back. It has a lighter underbelly and a red tongue. It may be a bear or a lion. It is showing walking away from a tree.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.32-33, Ms. 115.

No. 228  
Prov. Persian  
Date 1410  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man fighting lion  
Descr. This miniature shows Khusrau fighting with a lion. There are trees and a tented pavilion from which figures peer. A stream with a coloured pebble border runs through the scene. The lion straddles the stream with one attendant on each side, the left one gestures and the right one holds a sword. Khusrau grasps the lion by the ruff of its neck. His other arm is bent and the fist clenched but no weapon is visible. the lion is splayed, growling.

Loc. Collection Gulbenkian  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.5, pl.861b

No. 229  
Prov. Shiraz  
Date 1432  
Med. Miniature

Motif	Man hunting lion
Descr.	Taken from the <u>Shahnama</u> this miniature illustrates the hunting expedition of Ibrahim Sultan who appears on horseback spearing a lion. The miniature takes up the whole page. Chinese cloud motifs in blue float in the gold gilt sky. There are various men in turbans with their faces overpainted. Ibrahim Sultan in a blue robe and gold crown rides a prancing horse. He spears a female lion stretched at the full trying to avoid him. A red patch shows where she is wounded. Other men on horseback pursue deer, hares, onyx and other animals.
Loc.	Bod. L
Ref.	Robinson, <u>A Descriptive Catalogue</u> , pp. 16-22, Ms. Ouseley Add 176.
No.	230
Prov.	Shiraz
Date	1432-5
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Man seizing crown from two lions
Descr.	Bahram Gur is obtaining the crown from between two lions while Khusrau watches. Various figures are scattered through the composition. Bahram Gur waves a wand with a golden scallop motif at a lion in the left corner. The crown lies on the ground between Bahram Gur and the lion. The other lion huddles in the right corner, its tail and legs not visible. The crown on the ground is of Mongolian type.
Loc.	Bod. L.
Ref.	Robinson, <u>A Descriptive Catalogue</u> , pp.16-22, Ms. Ouseley Add 176.

No. 231  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1435-6  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion listening to Majnun  
 Descr. From an anthology. Majnun is surrounded by wild animals in the desert as he tells his father of his love for Laila. On the right side are the front parts of two donkeys or asses. There is a tree with pink blossoms and brown bark and another one which is grey with puff ball green foliage. Orange flowers and green foliage is dotted about. On the left side is a green cone shaped tree with a long tailed white bird sitting in it. Majnun is blue skirted and bare chested, bare headed and bearded. His father is wearing a blue robe, has his arms around his son. Some asses and a lion are listening to Majnun. the lion is painted in orange with a white muzzle, wrinkles on its face and black tufts for the mane.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.45-53.

No. 232  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1435-6  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man killing lion  
 Descr. A miniature from an anthology showing Khusrau Parviz killing a lion while Shirin and one of her ladies in waiting looks on. The sky is royal blue with gold Chinese clouds. In the right corner is a sun corolla with a human

face at the centre. Fawn coloured hills are bordered with mauve. There are two horses, one black, one mauve. Shirin is seated on a blue star scattered cushion. Khusrau wearing a crown is dressed in a blue shirt over brown and green trousers. His right hand is in the air clenched but empty. His left hand clasps the back of the lion's neck. There is no sign of a weapon. The lion is brown with an open mouth, white fangs and red tongue. Its shoulders are well defined, hairs are clearly delineated all over its body. A stream with multi-coloured rocks runs along the bottom.

Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp. 45-53,  
 Ms. 124.

No. 233  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1435-6  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion and Majnun  
 Descr. Majnun is caressing a black hound, in the middle of the desert, surrounded by wild animals. There is a yellow ground and gilt sky with Chinese cloud motifs in blue and white. The trees have brown bark and yellow foliage with sprays of flowers. Animals include a hyena, hare, black hound and a lion curled up in the corner. The black hound is on Majnun's lap.

Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.45-53

No. 234

Prov. Persian  
 Date 1435-6  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion and Majnun  
 Descr. Laila finds Majnun dreaming in the desert. There is a gold gilt sky with three white birds, wings extended. The hillside is yellow-green with various species of trees. Animals include a very proud looking single humped camel, two deer and a light brown lion, partly defaced. Laila and Majnun are seated on grey ground streaked with brown along with a grey river. Laila has long black hair and an orange dress, while Majnun has a black beard and is bare chested with white pantaloons.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp. 45-53, Ms. 124.

No. 235  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1435-6  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion and Majnun  
 Descr. Majnun is on a plain with the wild animals. The ground is green with darker green patches. Majnun wears blue knee length trousers and is bare chested, and bare footed. He wears a black furry hat. Behind him is a deer. Other animals include a spotted leopard, hyena, ass, several quadrupeds with curling horns, a white bird and a brown unevenly coloured lion.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.45-53,



Ms. 124.

No.	236
Prov.	Persian
Date	1435-6
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lion and Majnun
Descr.	Majnun and Laila are lying unconscious beneath a tree, surrounded by the wild animals. There is a gold gilt sky, a light fawn ground, clumps of rocks and orange flowers. The animals include several deer, a fox, a grey hare and a lion sprawled, brown coloured with a white underbelly and a long tail ringed with lines. The lion's face is shown in profile with the nose, pointed ears and lines for whiskers visible, a watching expression in its eyes. Majnun is dressed in blue pantaloons and is bare chested. He lies on his back. Laila dressed in orange with white boots also lies. Both faces are defaced.
Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , Vol.1, pp.45-53, Ms. 124.

No.	237
Prov.	Persian
Date	1435-6
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lion and Majnun
Descr.	Majnun retires from the world in order to live in the desert with the wild animals after Laila's death. There is a gold gilt sky and a purple hillside with puff trees and

clumps of orange flowers. Animals include a fox, black hound(?), horned quadrupeds, an ass, donkey and deer. A brown lion is walking. He has rounded ears, lines marking his mane and ribs and large paws. Majnun walks bare chested wearing a blue skirt.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.45-53, Ms. 124.

No. 238

Prov. Persian

Date 1435-6

Med. Miniature

Motif Man attacking lion, lion attacking ass

Descr. A miniature taken from the Tarikh of Tabari showing Bahram Gur at the court of the Arab king Mu'man, attacking a lion which has seized a wild ass. Five Arab horsemen watch. The sky is blue with trees on the horizon and stylized flowers on a purple hill with clumps of rock. Three horsemen come from the right, all with white turbans and dark faces. Bahram Gur riding a grey horse approaches a lion. He wears a blue and gold crown and a quiver with arrows. In his right hand he carries a short stick, possibly with a blade at the bottom. In his left hand he carries a bow. Two men approach from the left on horseback, carrying spears. The lion is brown with big clubbed feet and a waving tail. The mane is not distinct. The lion holds a wild ass down with his right front paw, biting just below the neck. It doesn't appear to see Bahram Gur approaching from behind. The ass has its mouth open in a scream.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp. 45-53,  
Ms. 124.

No. 239  
Prov. Persian, South Provincial/Timurid  
Date 1437  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man killing the lions  
Descr. Shahnama. Isfandiyar killing the lions in his second  
trial. The miniature is small and rectangular at the  
bottom of the page. Isfandiyar comes from the left riding  
a brown horse, dressed in peach-orange robe, a quiver at  
his waist, he is large in proportion to the horse. Two  
lions snarl on the right, one may have a mane, another lion  
appears to be dead. The upper one is brown with a dark  
brush for his tail, it is on all fours snarling, tail  
waving. The lower lion is lying on its back twisted, a  
slash down the centre of its head and back, front paws  
spread, with a curtain of blood.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat., 117, OR 1403, f. 276a.

No. 240  
Prov. Persian, South Provincial/Timurid  
Date 1437  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man killing the lions guarding it.  
Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur attaining the crown by killing the  
lions guarding it. The landscape is green with blue sky,

a cypress tree with birds on the left, two cypress trees with birds on the right and a rudimentary throne in the middle. Bahram Gur is to the left of the throne dressed in rose madder robes, white turban, he holds a gold crown up in his left hand while he beats a lion with a club held in his right hand. The lion is speckled yellow with a darker mane, he strides blood gushing from his nose as he walks away. The other lion sprawls, yellow with a mane, snarling up at Bahram Gur.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley cat. 117, OR 1403, f. 363b.

No. 241

Prov. Persian, South Provincial/Timurid

Date 1437

Med. Miniature

Motif Man riding lion.

Descr. Shahnama. The drunk cobbler riding one of the Bahram Gur's lions. The scene consists of an open landscape with two cypress trees on the upper left and two on the lower right inhabited by birds, a river on the lower right is edged by pastel stones. A lion, brownny-orange walks with the drunken cobbler astride holding on to the lion's neck. The lion is maned. The cobbler is dressed in blue with a white turban and red centre cone.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat., 117, OR 1403, f. 368b.

No. 242

Prov. Persian, South Provincial/Timurid

Date 1437  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man hunting lions.  
 Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions. Under a gold gilt sky the green plain has a cypress tree inhabited by birds, on the upper right. Bahram Gur, riding a brown horse, approaches from the right. He is dressed in an orange robe. He is swording a lion striding towards him from the left, growling, it is orange-brown in colour and maned. Bahram Gur is sticking a sword into its shoulder. Above, a lion slinks off to the left.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat., 117, OR 1403, f. 376a.

No. 243  
 Prov. Persian, North Provincial (Mazandaran/Timurid)  
 Date 1446  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Guyumars and his courtiers  
 Descr. Shahnama. Guyumars and his courtiers. Guyumars is seated on a throne on the hillside, surrounded by courtiers. The throne consists of banks of drapery leading up to the seat, it has a gilt back. Guyumars wears a crown. His courtiers sit and stand around the throne. There are animals at the bottom of the miniature. At the base of the throne is a leopard or a cheetah, and a lion lying on its front paws, it is brown with a mane.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat., 127, OR 12688, f. 16b.

No. 244  
Prov. Persian, North Provincial (Mazandaran/Timunid)  
Date 1446  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Hushang killing the black div.  
Descr. Shahnama-Hushang killing the black div. There is a gilt sky and blue and purple fungal mountains. A crowned figure seated on an elephant, approaches from the left. An archer is shown killing the black div, while red, brown and white divs peer out over the hillside. A lion and a jackal, both dark brown, slink along ahead of the elephant's trunk along the base of the picture.  
Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat., 127, OR 12688, f. 17b.

No. 245  
Prov. Persian, North Provincial (Mazandaran/Timunid)  
Date 1446  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Horse killing the lion  
Descr. Shahnama. Rakhsh killing the lion while Rustam sleeps. There is a bright blue sky, above a sandy hillside dotted with clumps of flowers. In the centre of the picture, Raksh, dappled with a black tail and mane, stands over a lion, his front hooves capturing the lion, one on each side. The dark brown lion is as large as the horse it pads along paws curled up, tail waving, mouth up and open, fangs showing. Rakhsh bites the lion's nose and muzzle, both of which are bloodied. Rustam is asleep on the left, dressed in gilt armour and a tiger striped robe. He holds an animal headed mace.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat., 127, OR 12688, f. 90b.

No. 246  
Prov. Persian, Herat  
Date 1449  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and Majnun  
Descr. An anthology of ghazals. Folio 153b and 154 are a double page illustration showing Majnun's mother carried on a camel, setting off to visit Majnun. Majnun, bearded is a very small man seated among the animals. There are big deer, gazelles, a seated bear(?), hare and a lion beside a stream. The lion is brown with a lighter muzzle. All the animals are listening to Majnun talk. The colours of the miniature are very muddy.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1 pp.55-57, fol. 1536 and 154, Ms. 127.

No. 247  
Prov. Persian  
Date Mid 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. An illustration from the Aja'ib al-Makhlugat showing an animal which may be a lion. It is a yellow quadruped, somewhat damaged. It has brown irregularly placed dots on its body and pricked ears. Lines from the mouth slant to the eye. Its mouth is open with fangs showing. It has a

very long jaw. The mane is executed in whorls, extending back over its shoulders. The paws have dark edges and varying numbers of digits.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.57-58, Ms. 128.

No. 248  
Prov. Persian, western Iran?  
Date Mid 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and Majnun  
Descr. Majnun is seated in the wilderness with the wild animals. There is a gilt sky with Chinese cloud motifs, and green grass. There are deer, gazelles, a leopard, hyena and a lion loping, its head may be damaged. Its haunches are cut off by the frame. Majnun has a very European looking face and curly hair. He has his arms around a gazelle. He is seated at the foot of a tree covered with blossom.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.73-75, Ms. 141, fol. 147b.

No. 249  
Prov. Persian. Shiraz(?)  
Date Mid. 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and Majnun  
Descr. Majnun in the desert among the beasts, visited by two young men. There is a gold gilt sky and purple hill. A very big



grey hare is asleep. Majnun is talking to an ass(?) The head and shoulders of a leopard and the head and shoulders of a lion are visible. The lion is brown. One paw is just visible. There are two seated camels. Two figures emerge from the left side. Majnun is dressed in a brown loose jacket, and blue skirt, he is bare legged. He holds a blue object in his hand as he gestures to the ass. At the bottom of the picture is a cave with bones.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, pp.29-30, Ms. 253, fol. 32.

No. 250

Prov. Persian. Shiraz(?)

Date Mid 15th century

Med. Miniature

Motif Lion and Majnun

Descr. Laila comforting Majnun in the desert. Taken from Majnun u Laila of Khusrau. There is as gold gilt sky and sandy desert with little clumps of foliage. A grey hare sits with its ears pricked up, while a deer kneels. A cheetah lollops towards a sprawling lion. The lion has a round monkey-like face, it tail waving in the air. The lion's haunches are strongly marked. The lion is quite small and comical. The forepart of an ass is visible on the left. A camel kneels. Laila, very pale, wearing a blue headdress and orange garment, supports Majnun's head in her lap.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, pp.29-30, Ms. 253, fol. 39b.

No. 251  
Prov. Herat School (?)  
Date Circa 1450  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Rakhsh (the horse) kills lion  
Descr. A page from the Shahnama showing Rustam asleep in an elaborate tree and rock landscape while Rakhsh kills the lion. Rakhsh opposes the lion which is standing head down. Rakhsh holds a leg up to impede the lion's progress. The lion is powerful with strongly marked features and mane. Its tail is up.  
Loc. Possession Kirkor Minassian (former)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 5, p. 881.

No. 252  
Prov. Persian  
Date 1463(?)  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and Majnun  
Descr. Majnun is surrounded by animals, in a rocky landscape the ground of which is painted gold. Trees have sparse foliage in green and pink, the rocks are gold gilt and there are clumps of finely drawn foliage and flowers. Animals include a deer, fox and jackals. Majnun is very thin, he holds a white hare in one hand and feeds a deer with the other. He wears a blue skirt embroidered with gold. Two big lions lie behind him, both have dark brown manes and thin wavy tails with a big brush. Circles indicate the mane. They have bulbous noses and round yellow eyes, head lying on their front paws.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.67-69,  
Ms. 137, fol. 115.

No. 253  
Prov. Rum  
Date 1468  
Med. Miniature  
Motif 3 men hunt lion  
Descr. An illustration from the Divan of Fattahi. A lion is being killed by two men on foot and an archer who shoots at him from a tent. A lady and three female attendants watch. A gilt sky is inhabited by a white Chinese cloud. There is a tent at the top of a green grassy area with stylized flowers. The tent has a long pole with a blue and white foliate design and a purple foliate interior. A domed tent is visible lower down. Two maidens peer over the top along with another figure. A turbaned man shoots an arrow from behind it and more women are seated inside watching. A pantalooned figure in a blue cap is holding the lion by the back of the neck. His arm is pulled back as if holding a weapon, but none is visible. A turbaned figure in blue stands above and to the right pulling a sword out of a sheath. Two more figures peer over a hill. The lion is tawny brown, its front paw batting at the man. It is badly drawn, with an open mouth and fangs showing. A mane is visible. Its back leg steps over the frame of the picture.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.1, pp.75-76,  
Ms. 142, fol. 123.

No. 254  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1480  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man and lion and other animals  
 Descr. Gaymars, is surrounded by the first men and wild animals. The scene is from the Shahnama. There is a gold sky and a white unfurling Chinese cloud. The king dressed in a leopard skin, lies on a leopard skin. There are green trees. Courtiers offer the king, bowls. They too are dressed in leopard skin. Animals visible include a leopard and a tawny lion, open-mouthed, with white fangs and a red tongue. One of the courtiers holds a bird.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.9-11 Ms. 157 fol. 9b

No. 255  
 Prov. Persian, Turkman style  
 Date circa 1480  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Winged lion cub and ibex  
 Descr. Taken from the Aja'ib al-Makhlugat, the painting shows a winged lion cub and a running ibex. Clumps of red flowers and green leaves are scattered through the composition. The lion cub is walking, a determined expression on its face, nose, eyes, mouth and ears clearly delineated. The brush of the tail and the edge of fur on the neck and back of the haunch are shown. The wing is like an angel's wing with ten

flanges, purple in contrast to the brown of the body. The ibex below is executed in brown and grey, shown running, its right forepaw and back left leg extend beyond the frame. The miniature above this one shows the island of Zanj.

Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp.32-47, Ms. Laud OR 132, fol. 60a.

No. 256  
Prov. Persian, Timurid, Turkman style  
Date circa 1480  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion? in isolation  
Descr. A Folio from the Aja'ib al-Makhluqat showing the Island of al-Jasasa and a lion-like creature. The creature is brown and fawn with a red tongue, no mane and a bushy tail. Its mouth is open and is seen in profile. It has grin-line lines, a nose, eye and ears with tufts of hair. On the body, swirling lines of dark and light seem to indicate muscles. The body has a wet sheen. Digits are shown on the paws. The tail is curled under the left back leg which extends beyond the frame. The background is plain with clumps of vegetation and red tulip-like flowers.

Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 32-47, Ms. Laud OR 132, fol. 79a.

No. 257  
Prov. Persian, Timurid, Turkman style

Date circa 1480  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion? in isolation  
 Descr. This miniature is described by Robinson as being 'a small cat-like creature'. Apparently the animal illustration called for by the text was a snail. The picture is on a plain ground with clumps of foliage and red tulip flowers. A prancing creature appears, hair delineated like a lion cub with brown and purple shading to indicate the rippling of the coat. The tail is curled with no brush. This animal could possibly be a lion cub, but the absence of the brush on the tail is probably the best indication that this is not the case.  
 Loc. Bod. L  
 Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 32-47, Ms. Laud Or 132, fol. 99a.

No. 258  
 Prov. Persian, Timurid, Turkman style  
 Date circa 1480  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Two lions in isolation  
 Descr. A folio showing the two stone lions of Jabalal-Hind in India from whose mouths water gushes. It is set on a plain ground with clumps of red tulip-like flowers and green foliage. The two lions each face into the centre. They are greyish-brown in colour with darker areas indicating the manes and the edges of their haunches. They are sitting on their haunches, their front legs supported on rocks. The rocks are very jagged.  
 Loc. Bod. L.

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pl. 32-37, Ms. Laud OR  
132, fol. 118a.

No. 259

Prov. Persian, Turkman style

Date 1480

Med. Miniature

Motif Lion-like Sannaja

Descr. An illustration from the Aja'ib al-Makhlugat showing the Sannaja, a mythical monster of Tibet. The monster is shown as a sort of lion with a horse's tail. The lion's head is bowed to the ground. He has two rather forlorn eyes and heavy jowls. His right forepaw extends from the frame. There are swirls in purple and brown on his body and a horse's tail. The ground is plain with red and green clumps of flowers.

Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 32-47, Ms. Laud OR  
132, fol. 295a.

No. 260

Prov. Persian, Timurid, Turkman style.

Date circa 1480

Med. Miniature

Motif Lion in isolation

Descr. A scene from the Aja'ib al-Makhlugat entitled 'The Lion'. The picture has a plain ground broken by clumps of red and green flowers. The lion is brown with some shading and a white belly. He is sprawled diagonally across the space, seated on his haunches. His tongue hangs out. Black lines

indicate the mane over the ears and the tail has a dark brush. His face is very expressive.

Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, ppl. 32-47, Ms. Laud OR 132, fol. 299a.

No. 261  
Prov. Persian, Turkman style  
Date Circa 1480  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and Majnun  
Descr. Majnun among the wild animals from the Khamasa of Nizami. The animals appear in a ground set with tufts of grass and flowering plants. Majnun dressed in blue pantaloons is bare-chested and bearded. He has his arms around a crouching lion. The lion is brown with a bear-like head and faint hairs indicating the mane.  
Loc. Bod. L.  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 30-32 & p. 77, Ms. Elliot 194, fol. 155b.

No. 262  
Prov. Persian  
Date 1480  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man seizes crown from two lions.  
Descr. A Shahnama illustration of Bahram Gur seizing the crown from between two lions which he fells with his mace. There is a gilt sky and rounded green hills with stylized clumps



of foliage and flowers in red, mauve and orange. Three men peep over the hillside to the right. On the left is a turbaned face, defaced. The king wears a gold and blue crown, a green skirt over a blue dress, sprinkled with gold, and green boots. He is clubbing a lion lying on the left with a mace. The lion is a fawn colour with lighter underparts and an orange tongue hanging out. It has dark shading on its haunches and a long curving tail. Blood drips from its forehead. The lion on the right is cut off by the frame to the composition. It lies sprawled and floppy, eye turned upward. Dark hair indicates the mane. It has small ears and an open mouth with grimace lines, blood streams from its head.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, pp. 11-12, Ms. 158, fol. 415b.

No. 263

Prov. Persian, Timurid

Date 1481-82

Med. Miniature

Motif Man fighting lion

Descr. The miniature from the Khamasa of Nizami shows Khusrau Parviz thrusting with his fist at a lion which has attacked the tent he is occupying with Shirin. The gilt sky is inhabited by birds and a Chinese cloud. Two trees appear on the horizon. The ground is green-grey with odd clumps of foliage and flowers. In the main foreground one man, sword raised, dressed in blue, is ready to slash at the lion, the other grasps the lion by the back of the neck, he looks as if he should have a weapon in his raised clenched

hand, but there is no weapon. The lion is snarling, standing on his hind legs, tail thrashing. He is open-mouthed with grimace lines and a button nose, his front paws are flailing. He has a light underbelly. Another man, off into the margin has a raised club ready to use on the lion.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, pp. 16-17, Ms. 162, fol. 57b.

No. 264  
Prov. Persian  
Date 1481-82  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man attacking lion.  
Descr. Taken from the Khamse of Nizami, this miniature shows Bahram Gur on horseback attacking a lion which has seized a deer. The gilt sky has white Chinese clouds, two trees are visible on the horizon and the ground is a greenish colour. The lion is brown with a bear-like face and glittering yellow eyes. His front paws pin down a pink-fleshed deer. There are traces of blood around the lion's mouth. His tail is waving. The man on horseback wears a gold crown with a black cockade. He has a clean-shaven Mongol face. He carries a quiver full of arrows and a bow. Three sets of men peek from behind the hills.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, p. 16 Ms. 162, fol. 186b.

No. 265  
 Prov. Persian, Herat  
 Date 1485  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion and Majnun  
 Descr. Laila and Majnun are in the desert surrounded by wild animals. The sky is gold and the ground blue. Rocks in blues and turquoises and fawns appear in the upper right. A brown stream meanders across the picture in a diagonal line from the upper right. Majnun is dressed in a blue robe and skirt open at the chest. Animals include leopards, a tiger, deer, hyenas, jackals, a camel belonging to Laila drinking from the stream and a lion. The lion is seated on his haunches, feet at the edge of the stream. His head is turned towards the leopard and tiger. The mane curls around his face. He is fawn coloured with a lighter mane and a brush at the end of the tail.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, ppl. 18-21, Ms. 163, fol. 120b.

No. 266  
 Prov. Turkman/Timurid  
 Date 1486  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Horse attacking lion.  
 Descr. Shahnama. Rakhsh attacking the lion while Rustam sleeps. The miniature is small and rectangular with a gold sky, swirling multi-coloured clouds, a green hillside covered in flowers and with a puff-ball tree in the background. Rustam sleeps in the upper left, perched against an unseen

support. Towards the centre right of the picture the horse Rakhsh bites the spine of a lion. The horse is yellow with red spots, fine legs and hooves. His front hooves grasp the lion by the head. The lion is brown with a dark mane, open snarling mouth, bulbous lined nose and staring eyes, his head is bowed.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, Cat. 111, Add. 18188, f. 90b.

No. 267

Prov. Turkman/Timurid

Date 1486

Med. Miniature

Motif Man killing the lion-ape

Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Chubina killing the lion-ape. The landscape has blue sky, gilt chinese clouds, mauve plains with brown and grey fungal rocks and some trees. The lion-ape passes rocks on the lower right. It has a lion's colouring, dark brown with a light underbelly and a lion's tail tipped by a dark brush, it doesn't have a mane. It has rounded ears, an elongated snout, red tongue, white fangs, and long thin legs. It holds its head up. The lion-ape has been hit by three arrows, one lodges in its head and two in its shoulders, blood spurts from the wounds. Bahram Gur is dressed in a blue and gold robe over an orange undershirt. He has a quiver of arrows at his waist, he holds a bow as if he has just let one arrow loose. He is riding a brown horse.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, Cat. 111 Add. 18188, f. 465b.

No.	268
Prov.	Persian
Date	1492
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Man hunting lion
Descr.	Taken from the <u>Khamisa</u> of Nizami, this miniature illustrates a hunting and hawking scene with many participants armed with bows and arrows, spears and swords. A mounted prince surveys the scene in the background. The gilt sky has grey, blue, gold and white birds along with Chinese clouds. Men ride over the brow of the hill from left and right. On the right is an umbrella in blue on a pole. The men are spearing a brown lion. A man spears it from horseback, turning backwards as he does it. The horse's tails are all knotted. Boars or hyenas, bears, one bear chewing a horse's neck, and deer, make up the rest of the scene.
Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , vol. 2, pp. 29-31, Ms. 171, fol. 1b-2.

No.	269
Prov.	Persian
Date	1492
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lion and Majnun
Descr.	Majnun is among the animals, in a scene from the <u>Khamisa</u> of Nizami. There is a gilt sky and a brown gnarled tree with delicate pink and white blossoms. Flowers are scattered on a green ground. An ibex, spotted deer, a blue animal and a black animal, a leopard and other animals appear in the picture. Majnun naked to the waist and wearing a blue

garment, holds his hand out to a deer. A lion lies at the bottom of the miniature, he has a brown bulbous nose, red tongue, white eyes and a curled tail.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, pp. 29-31, Ms. 171, fol. 97.

No. 270

Prov. Shiraz style

Date 1494

Med. Miniature

Motif Rakhsh kills lion

Descr. A scene from the Shahnama. Rustam is asleep whilst his horse Rakhsh kills the marauding lion. Rustam sleeps holding a fan, his bow and quiver behind him. The gold sky has Chinese cloud patterns while the ground has a stylized tree with powder-puff foliage. Rustam lies on a striped mat. There is green grass with tulip-like stylized flowers and a grey stream running through. Rakhsh is very elegant. The lion has a monkey-like face with lines for whiskers in grey with light beige shading. Rakhsh has nipped him in the back of the spine and blood shows.

Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 48-54. Ms. Elliot 325, fol. 86a.

No. 271

Prov. Persian

Date 1497

Med. Miniature

Motif           Majnun and lion

Descr.          Majnun, bare-chested, is talking with a man dressed in white at the foot of some multi-coloured rocks. Trees and a river are part of the composition. Birds are perched on a rock, while a deer is on one side of the river bank, and another is visible through a gap in the rocks. A lion crouches behind the tree trunk. It seems about to fall out into space.

Loc.           C B L

Ref.           Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, pp. 7-8, Ms. 156, fol. 72.

No.            272

Prov.          Persian

Date          1497-98

Med.          Miniature

Motif          Lion in isolation

Descr.          The Savar al-Kavekib, a translation of the Arabic astronomical treatise 'Images of the Stars'. Page 172 shows a picture of a lion and a centaur. The lion is crouched, paws outstretched. Its body is covered with numbers and dots that signify that it is an astronomical creature.

Loc.          C B L

Ref.          Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, pp. 34-35, Ms. 175, p. 172.

No.            273

Prov.          Persian

Date 1498  
 Med. Manuscript illustration  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. An isolated astronomical motif in a treatise on astronomy by al-Hasib al-Tabari, begun in the 13th century and translated as the Ta'lim dar mar'ifat I taqvim. Drawing of a lion.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, vol. 2, pp. 35-36, Ms. 176.

No. 274  
 Prov. Persian, provincial style  
 Date Undated, late 15th century  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion and Kalila and Dimna.  
 Descr. From the Kalila wa Dimna. The two jackals are addressing the lion. The lion is seated facing the jackals. He is not well-delineated, the mane is not clear. He raises his right paw. All three animals have a rather thin quality reminiscent of water colours.  
 Loc. Bod. L  
 Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser 100, fol. 41a.

No. 275  
 Prov. Persian, northeast  
 Date Late 15th century  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion fighting ox.



Descr. Taken from illustrations to Kalila wa Dimna "The Lion and the Ox Fighting." The lion and the ox are both thinly delineated. The lion rears on its hind legs, scratching the ox's back as it bites its underbelly. The lion is pale yellow and lacks a thick mane or bushy tail. The ox is black with thin legs. There is a sense of action but not of volume.

Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser 100, fol. 66b.

No. 276

Prov. Persian, provincial style

Date Undated, late 15th century

Med. Miniature

Motif Lions, leopard and Dimna.

Descr. An illustration to the Kalila wa Dimna. Two lions, the leopard and Dimna seated. The lions appear on the upper right. One is seated with its tail curved round, facing the viewer. It is pale yellow in colour and has no markings indicating a mane. The other lion is smaller, with its back to the viewer and head turned to the left looking at the lounging jackal, its left paw is raised towards the first lion.

Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser 100, fol. 76a.

No. 277

Prov. Persian, provincial style

Date Miniature  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Two lion, leopard, Kalila and Dimna  
 Descr. An illustration to the Kalila wa Dimna. Two lions, the leopard, Kalila and Dimna talking. On a pale blue ground with clumps of vegetation and leaves. The two lions are at the top facing each other, the one on the left is smaller. The lion on the right has its eye and jaw rimmed in black. Both are grey rather than yellow in colour, and neither have manes. The jackals are in the centre and bottom of the picture and the leopard is in the lower left corner.  
 Loc. Bod. L  
 Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser 100, fol. 81b.

No. 278  
 Prov. Persian, provincial style  
 Date Undated, late 15th century  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Two lions, leopard, Dimna  
 Descr. An illustration to the Kalila wa Dimna. The two lions, the leopard and Dimna are seated. The male lion is in the upper centre, seated and facing the viewer. Lines indicate the mane between the ears. He is sitting back on his haunches. The second lion is on the right, lower centre. It faces the top lion, right paw raised. It is smaller, slighter and there is no indication of a mane. The jackal is in the lower left corner with the leopard just above it.  
 Loc. Bod. L  
 Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser

100, fol. 86b.

No. 279  
Prov. Persian, provincial style  
Date Undated, late 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and jackal  
Descr. An illustration from the Kalila wa Dimna showing the lion and the jackal. The lion is pale fawn in colour, his mane shown and a slight brush at the end of the tail. He seems to be talking to a stalking jackal, as he lollops along.  
Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser 100, fol. 156b.

No. 280  
Prov. Persian, provincial style  
Date Undated, late 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion, leopard and lynx  
Descr. An illustration from the kalila wa Dimna, showing the leopard, the lion and lynx. The lynx is on the lower right, the lion in the upper right to centre and the leopard to the centre left. The lion is seated on its haunches, with its back to the viewer and head turned to face the viewer. Lines indicate the mane. The lion is a beige-yellow colour and seems insubstantial.  
Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser 100, fol. 158b.

No. 281

Prov. Persian, northeast

Date Late 15th century

Med. Miniature

Motif Two lions

Descr. A folio taken from the Kalila wa Dimna which shows two lions conversing. The background is blue with clumps of foliage and vegetation. A lion with a mane is seated on its haunches in the right of the picture. His side is to the viewer, his head held sideways. His right forepaw is raised. The lion is a yellowish-beige colour. The other lion does not so obviously have a mane. It is sitting on its haunches on the left, ears pricked listening. Both have individual expressions achieved with a minimum of detail.

Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser 100, fol. 160b.

No. 282

Prov. Persian, provincial style

Date Undated, late 15th century

Med. Miniature

Motif Lion and jackal

Descr. An illustration to the Kalila wa Dimna, showing the lion and the jackal. The background is blue and there are clumps of green foliage and vegetation. The lion is seated on the right with its paw raised. It faces the running jackal on the lower left. It is a beige-brown colour and is rather insubstantial in form.

Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue,, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser  
100, fol. 162a.

No. 283  
Prov. Persian, provincial style  
Date Undated, late 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and jackal  
Descr. Taken from the Kalila wa Dimna. Against a blue background with green clumps of vegetation and foliage, the lion lies on the right, facing the seated jackal. The lion is relaxed, with its right forepaw crossed over the left. A faint fringe indicates the mane. The illustration has a very intimate relaxed quality.  
Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser  
100, fol. 164b.

No. 284  
Prov. Persian, northeast  
Date late 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lioness with two dead cubs.  
Descr. Taken from the Kalila wa Dimna, this miniature shows a lion with two dead cubs. It is set against a blue background with green clumps of foliage. The two dead cubs are on the right lying slightly apart, head to feet. They are an orange, pink and salmon colour, more -or -less blobs with legs. The lioness is lying on the left.  
Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser  
100, fol. 169b.

No. 285  
Prov. Persian, northeast  
Date Late 15th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion killing another animal  
Descr. Taken from Kalila wa Dimna. The lion killing the ass,  
while the fox looks on. The lion and the ass are in the  
centre of the picture, the black ass is lying upside-down,  
its feet in the air. It wears a brown and green striped  
saddledcloth. The lion is attacking its underbelly. Only  
the outline of a rather ferocious lion is left, the rest  
has been obliterated. A fox occupies the lower right  
corner of the picture.

Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 71-74, Ms. Fraser  
100, fol. 181b.

No. 286  
Prov. Bukhara school  
Date 16th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man hunting lion and other animals.  
Descr. A line drawing washed with light colour showing a hunting  
scene. Men on horseback ride amid fungal mountains,  
carrying swords. Animals include cheetahs, ibex, asses,  
foxes, deer, wild boar and lions. One lion is lying blood-  
spattered at the bottom of the picture, face turned up,

snarling. It has lots of wrinkle lines, a mane and fine hairs. The other lion is being killed with a sword, run through its eye. It holds the edge of the sword with its claws and growls. Its face is also lined. It is being killed with a sword by a man on horseback. An ape watches from a tree.

Loc. Possession Kevorkian (former)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, vol. 5, pl. 894.

No. 287  
Prov. Persian, provincial style  
Date 16th century  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man killing lion  
Descr. Taken from the Assar Mihr u Mushtari this miniature shows Mihr killing a lion. Against a gilt background is a dark green plain with sprays of flowers. Men in turbans with feather cockades watch while Mihr on a grey horse spears a lion. The lion is brown with a rich mane, bloodied. Its back left leg extends downward into the text. Under trees are a deer and two leopards or cheetahs. A man leads camels near a grey stream with coloured rocks.

Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 167-168, Ms. Pers.d 30 (Beeston 2602, fol. 85b).

No. 288  
Prov. Persian, derived from Turkman style  
Date Circa 1500  
Med. Miniature

Motif	Majnun and lions
Descr.	Majnun in the desert among the beasts, is visited by Laila riding a camel. From the <u>Divan of Amir Khusrau</u> . There is a gold-gilt sky and dark purple mountains. The foliage and trees are stylised. Two deer-like creatures peep over the edge of the mountain. Majnun, bare-chested, dressed in blue pantaloons is seated feeding a deer, surrounded by a grey hare and various deer. Two lions are seated and lying respectively, they display a variety of golden shaded hair, with dark lines for their eyes and noses. Dark thin lines mark the haunches. A man leads a camel with a pavilion on top with the veiled Laila inside.
Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , vol. 3, pp. 11-12, No. 233, fol. 92b.
No.	289
Prov.	Persian, Turkman
Date	1500-01
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Man killing lion
Descr.	Taken from the <u>Khamisa</u> of Nizami, this miniature shows Khusrau in night attire killing a lion, before the tent of Shirin. The sky is gold with Chinese clouds in white and blue. Khusrau is crudely drawn, bigger in scale than the tent and Shirin. The lion, also crudely drawn, springs mouth open and red tongue lolling, tail flailing. All four paws are shown in active motion. He is brown. Khusrau kills him with his fist.
Loc.	Bod. L
Ref.	Robinson, <u>A Descriptive Catalogue</u> , pp. 54-58, Ms. Elliot



192 (Ethe 587) fol. 55a.

No. 290  
Prov. Persian, Turkman style  
Date 1501  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Majnun and lion  
Descr. From the Khamisa of Nizami, Majnun is in the desert surrounded by animals. The animals include deer, leopards, ibex and a crouching lion. The lion is small and muddy coloured, mane and tail showing, listening to Majnun. Majnun is feeding a deer.  
Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 54-58, Ms. Elliot 192 (Ethe 587) fol. 134a.

No. 291  
Prov. Persian, Timurid Turkman style  
Date 1500-01  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man killing lion, lion killing ass  
Descr. Taken from the Khamisa of Nizami this miniature shows Bahram Gur transfixing with a single arrow a lion and a wild ass upon which it has leaped. There is a gilt sky with Chinese clouds in grey and white and a green ground with red flowers. A brown lion, tail flailing has leapt on the back of a white shrieking ass. There is blood where its paws have touched the beast. Bahram wears a big plumed helmet and blue and gold robes. He is riding a horse.  
Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 54-58, Ms. Elliot

192 (Ethe 587), fol. 169a.

No. 292  
Prov. Persian, Turkman style  
Date 1500-01  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Two lions and Bahram Gur  
Descr. Taken from the Khamse of Nizami this miniature shows Bahram Gur enthroned after winning the crown from between two lions. There is a gilt sky with Chinese clouds and a grey ground with red and green sprays of flowers. Bahram is seated on a gold and grey mat with a blue and red canopy overhead. Richly dressed courtiers surround him. The two lions are at the bottom. One is sprawled on its back, mouth open and teeth bared, it is bloody and in agony. The other prowls, mouth open with a red tongue. Streaks of blood run and its tail is between its legs.  
Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. 54-58, Ms. Elliot 192 (Ethe 587) fol. 174b.

No. 293  
Prov. Persian, later Herat/Timurid  
Date 1502  
Med. Miniature  
Motif The lion and other animals  
Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. The crow, wolf and jackal watching the lion eating the prey they caught for it. This is a very small oblong miniature with text above and below. The animals are indistinct; a brown wolf, grey jackal on brown

sandy hillocks. The wolf is looking up and to the left of the lion. The jackal is seated, head turned round to look back at the lion. The lion is lying almost in the centre of the picture, eating. The lion is brown with lighter beige patches, he has a mane and his tail is curled. The black crow looks up at him from the lower left. The lion has the attention of all the creature but does not look regal.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 189, OR 2799, f. 60a.

No. 294

Prov. Persian, Later Herat/Timunid

Date 1502

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and another animal

Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. The fox and the mangy lion. This is an oblong miniature two-thirds of the way down the page with text above and below it. There are sandy hills, a green cypress tree is in the lower part, cut off by the frame. The lion is seated, sandy in colour with a hairy face, turned towards and looking down at the fox. The fox is on the left, small, brown, seated looking up at the lion.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 189, OR 2799, f. 163a.

No. 295

Prov. Persian, Later Herat/Timurid

Date 1502

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and another animal

Descr.      Anvar-i Suhaili. Kamju'i the lion and Fariseh the jackal. This is an oblong picture, two thirds of the way down the page. The setting consists of a grey hill, small tufts of grass, a single tree, some beige rocks and gilt sky. On the right the lion is lying, mouth open, red tongue showing. He is brown. He seems to be talking in a relaxed pose, with a grinning face. The jackal is seated to the left, on the other side of the tree, he is very much smaller than the lion, ears pricked, brown in colour. The lion by size and relaxed pose in the face of Fariseh's alert posture indicates superiority.

Loc.        B L

Ref.        Titley, cat. 189, OR 2799, f. 217b.

No.         296

Prov.       Persian

Date        1504

Med.        Miniature

Motif       Majnun and lion

Descr.      Majnun is in the desert with the animals. The miniature is rather crudely drawn. The green ground is covered with foliage and the gilt sky has white Chinese clouds. Majnun sits in the centre of the picture, bare chested and bare headed. A deer, leopard, horned ibex and lion crouch around him. The colours are muddy and the animals are not well delineated.

Loc.        Bod. L

Ref.        Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp.188-190, Ms. Pers.d 105, fol. 151a.

No. 297  
 Prov. Shiraz  
 Date 1504  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Bahram Gur killing lion, lion killing ass  
 Descr. An illustration from the Shahnama showing Bahram Gur shooting a lion and a wild ass with a single arrow. There is a gilt sky with Chinese clouds and clumps of red and green foliage on a grey background. The lion pounces on an ass, breaking the animal's spine, blood dripping from claw marks. Bahram shoots the lion.  
 Loc. Bod. L  
 Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp.188-190 Ms. Pers.d 105 fol. 191a.

No. 298  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1529  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Men and lions  
 Descr. Double page illustration showing the Prophet Solomon and Bilgis, the Queen of Sheba. They are seated on gold thrones supported by jinn and angels, some of whom are playing musical instruments, surround them. Solomon's minister Asaf is seated before the throne, surrounded by manifold animals including a fawn coloured lion, who strides. Another one is lying down.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.55-57 Ms. 195, fol. 16.2.

No. 299  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1529-30  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Majnun and lion  
 Descr. From the Khamisa of Nizami. Majnun surrounded by wild animals rests at the foot of a tree. The tree looms up into the gold gilt sky, its top cut off. The sand coloured hill has purple folds. There are two men at the left and two men at the right, visible over the top of the hill. There is a black boar-like animal, a hare, deer and gazelles, a leopard and another leopard. In the upper right of the picture is the lion, half cut off. Open-mouthed, he seems to be talking. He has a bulbous nose, red tongue and white teeth, his head is turned back on his front paws. Below is a grimacing, sprawling lion looking up and listening to the bare chested, blue skirted Majnun, who is seated on a cushion, hand held out to the deer.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, pp.57-60, Vol.2 No. 196, fol. 160.

No. 300  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 1529 - 30  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Majnun and lion  
 Descr. Majnun is accompanied by the wild animals as he goes on a pilgrimage to Laila's tomb and dies there of despair. The

yellow-brown hillside is dotted with flowers. An elaborate square opening, domed, is tiled with a variety of coloured designs. This represents the tomb. A tent is partially visible on each side of the pavilion and various men talk and argue. There are hares, gazelles and deer among other animals. The lion lies in an enclosure, brown walled and polygonal; he is turned back looking up, head just turned upside down in a very odd perspective at Majnun. There are kneeling figures and another animal on the platform.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, pp.57-60, Vol. 2  
No. 196, fol. 184b.

No. 301

Prov. Persian

Date 1529-30

Med. Miniature

Motif Bahram Gur is seizing crown from lions

Descr. This miniature is taken from the Khamasa of Nizami. It illustrates Bahram seizing the Iranian crown from between two lions. There are men in a pavilion, horses and men approach from the left and right over the brow of a sandy coloured hill dotted with foliage. The king is standing over the polygonal pavilion in the centre of the picture; he wears a red turban with gold trim decorated with white feathers. In his right hand he holds a gold crown with a cockade and eight stones set in a mount. Two lions are snarling up at him. They are chained with collars around their necks, both have open mouths, white underbellies, strong feet and legs and stretch up tails waving in the air. On each side of the king are men in floppy hats. The

king is smiling.

LOC. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.57-60 No. 196, fol. 206b.

No. 302

Prov. Persian

Date 1529-30

Med. Miniature

Motif Lions as decorative detail

Descr. From the Khamisa of Nizami. Sikandar seated on a gold throne in a pavilion with a brocade roof worked with an animal design. Sikandar is seated on a raised polygonal throne with courtiers and musicians in attendance. The fresco of animals on the roof includes roaring lions.

LOC. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.57-60 No. 196, fol. 330.

No. 303

Prov. Persian

Date 1540

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lion

Descr. A folio from the Khamisa of Nizami showing Alexander going from India to Tartary, hunting on the way. Chinese clouds, flesh coloured, inhabit a gilt sky along with pine cone-like shapes in brown. One man, hips and torso showing, is visible on either side of the brow of a hill. The ground is white with finely drawn lines indicating



clumps of grass. There are red flowers and brown sprays. Deer-like fawn coloured creatures prance around. A handsomely dressed man on a brown horse with a bow and quiver is slashing through the back of an antlered stag, sprays of blood spurting. At the bottom centre left a man on a grey horse equipped with a quiver appears to be trying to chop off the head of a lion, which has leapt on the back of a black mounted horse, using a scimitar.

Loc. Cambridge, St John's College

Ref. Browne, A Supplementary Handlist, p.318

No. 304

Prov. Persian

Date 1540

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lion

Descr. A folio from the Khamsa of Nizami. A lion snarls at a rider dressed in an orange and white turban with a red cockade. The lion is being shot with a bow and arrow. At the bottom a lion is pouncing on a black horse, the rider reaching back to brush the lion away. Another rider comes up from behind on a dappled horse and wounds the lion. The rider of the black horse has turned back and is stabbing the lion in the head, although the blade is not visible. The lion is bloodied, it is pale brown and fawn in colour with large eyes, defined digits and a pale underbelly. Its tail has a large brush.

Loc. Cambridge, St John's College

Ref. Browne, A Supplementary Handlist, p.318

No. 305  
Prov. Persian, Shiraz  
Date 1545  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. A folio from the Wonders of Creation showing in the lower illustration a kneeling lion. It has a bulbous nose with Chinese type wrinkles around its mouth and wavy lines across its forehead. It has small rounded ears and a very faint ruff around the head. The animal is yellow in colour with very soft shadows down the back apparently representing the mane. It has very long thick digits on its paws. The chest is white and it has a long curving tail. There are dots on its nose, head and body. The background is blue with Chinese clouds in brown.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.75-77 No. 212.

No. 306  
Prov. Shiraz  
Date 1545, copy made by Murshid al-Kitibi al-Shirazi (Attar)  
Med. Manuscript  
Motif Lion and centaur  
Descr. Folio 54, revers of Ms. 212, Qazwini Wonders of Creation. The figures represent constellations, at the top of an oblong showing a centaur and lion. The centaur has a horse's body and a man's torso, arms and head. A streamer issues from the head with a long snout, big teeth, fangs and two pricked up ears at the end. The man holds a

floriated stick in his hand. He seems to be swinging the lion around, holding him by the back paws. The yellow lion has grey spots on its body.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.75-77 No. 212, fol. 54.

No. 307  
Prov. Persian, Shiraz  
Date 1545  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man with animal head - lion  
Descr. Taken from the Wonders of Creation, folio 416 reverse dealing with demons, ghouls and the jinn. A man like creature is set in a green landscape, with a brown river flowing through. He has a brownish body, spotted and wears a blue skirt sprinkled with gilt. He has human arms and legs, but brown spotted with a lighter underside. Gold bangles adorn his upper arms, wrists and ankles. His head is brown spotted with a lion-like nose and wrinkled mouth. His lion-like eyes have flame eyebrows and there are whorls on the top of his head and lower chin. He is in a chapter illustrated with pictures of men with animal heads.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.75-77 No. 212, fol. 416.

No. 308  
Prov. Persian, Shiraz  
Date 1545

Med. Miniature

Motif Man with lion head

Descr. Taken from the Wonders of Creation chapter on demons, ghouls and jinn. Three miniatures all show animal headed figures offering or pleading to an enthroned king. At the top is the king dressed in blue and green, bearded and turbaned. He is seated on a polygonal throne. In the picture is a man-like purplish spotted creature with bangles on his arms and a bell around his neck. He is animal headed and has flame eyebrows and whorls around his head. In the second miniature the same king is confronted by a centaur. The four legged creature has a donkey coloured head and long ears and a donkey-like tail. The third miniature shows the same king in profile. The creature with him has a lion-like head, with fangs and a nose and flame eyebrows and quadruped front paws, while the back ones are bird claws. It has a very thin tail. In colour it is fawn with a white underbelly.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, pp.75-77 No. 212.

No. 309

Prov. Shiraz style

Date 1548

Med. Miniature

Motif Man killing lion

Descr. This miniature shows Mihr killing a lion whose severed head lies outside in the margin. The sky is yellow gilt. Mihr rides an aristocratic grey horse. He has chopped off the lion's head which gushes blood in the margin of the page.

The lion is brown with white underparts.

Loc. Bod. L

Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, Ms. Elliot 257 (Ethe 811) fol. 89a.

No. 310

Prov. Persian, probably Shiraz

Date 1548

Med. Miniature

Motif Rakhsh the horse, kills lion

Descr. A folio from a Shahnama manuscript showing Rustam sleeping while the Rakhsh kills a marauding lion. The sky is gold gilt with one furling white Chinese cloud, while the ground is green with formalised green vegetation. Rustam is dressed in a brown and blue robe and holds a sword across his body as he lies sleeping on an orange and brown mat. There is a purple path below the mat with red flowers. A black stream has rocks along its bottom edge. Rakhsh is brown and wears a gold bridle. He is biting through the backbone of a snarling lion and blood shows along the lion's backbone. The lion is sprawled, head turned to look at Rakhsh. It is fawn coloured with a light muzzle, well delineated ribs and well defined muscles. Its mane is dark brown and its mouth is open.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.2, p.79 No. 214, fol. 122.

No. 311

Prov. Uncertain

Date 1549  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Majnun and lion  
 Descr. From the Diwan of Hafiz, two men visit Majnun in the desert. Majnun dressed in a blue robe is surrounded by animals including a hyena, deer, hare, lion and cheetah. The lion is on the lower right. It is resting, its front paws crossed. The lion is very small.  
 Loc. Bod. L  
 Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, p.163, Ms. Ousley 20 (Ethe 819) fol. 59b.

No. 312  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date Circa 1550  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Centaur - dragon - lion composite - astronomical  
 Descr. A separate miniature showing Sagittarius as a centaur-like figure with a plumed helmet, shooting an arrow backwards. The centaur's animal part is lion shaped and the tail ends in a dragon's head. Arabesques and floral scrolls cover the creature.  
 Loc. C B L  
 Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, p.7, No. 228, fol. V.

No. 313  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date Circa 1550  
 Med. Miniature

Motif	Man attacking lion
Descr.	A page from a royal manuscript of the <u>Khamasa</u> of Nizami. It has a gold gilt sky, green grass, sprinkled richly with foliage and flowers and a black stream running through. A tree is also shown. A pavilion with tile work and foliate designs is gold domed. Shirin is seated on a carpet on front of the pavilion. A gold container and bowl are on the carpet in front of her. Various courtiers are scattered through the scene. Khusrau wears a green hat and a transparent white shirt and black trousers. Two women stand gesturing and looking quizzically towards the left. Khusrau, his right arm drawn back, grasps the lion by the neck with his left hand. The lion is open mouthed striding, back right leg kicking out. He looks up from a lowered head at Khusrau, his tail upwards. It has a great sense of movement and volume.
Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , Vol.3, p.7 fol. vi:
No.	314
Prov.	Turkish
Date	Circa 1550
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Man hunting lion
Descr.	A folio from the <u>Divan</u> of Shahi showing a hunting scene. There is a gold gilt sky, finely drawn figures and a sand coloured hillside with clumps of stylized flowers and a single artistically curved tree. In the upper part of the picture a horse and rider move from left to right. The rider, gesturing has just thrown a spear on a very thin red pole through a lion, he is still holding one end. The lion

is very Chinese looking, a very bright yellow colour, head thrown back. Finely drawn lines indicate the mane, while scrolled lines indicate the ears. The front paws bend in an unnaturalistic manner. The right near leg is very thin, while the extended back leg is more substantial. The tail is longer than the body. At the bottom on a green flat carpet of grass is a king wearing a bold and green crown and a blue star sprinkled robe drawn in at the waist over a green shirt. He rides a black horse with gold trappings, the horse's legs are very thin for its body. He kills a lion with a sword as it attack a grey ass. The ass is screaming, kneeling, neck and head curving round to look at the horseman. The lion bites the back of the neck. The lion is yellow, more finely drawn than the other lion. It has long yellow fangs, short ears and soft lines for the ruff. Its sturdy paws have claws retracted. It is more rounded than the other lion.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, p.8, No. 229.

No. 315

Prov. Turkish

Date Circa 1550

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lion

Descr. A miniature from the Divan of Shahi showing a hunting scene. The sky is gold inhabited by elaborately scrolled Chinese clouds in greys and blues. Horseman go from right to left on a sandy hill. A crowned figure is banging a black spotted white animal with a gold mace, some blood shows. On a grassy plain, a smaller horse moves from left



to right. It has gold trappings. A lion leaps over the back of the horse on to a saddle blanket. A turbaned man rides the horse, he may be spearing the lion, his weapon is unclear. The lion is small with a big head, open mouth, oval eye and light yellow in colour, it is crouching with all four paws on the saddle cloth. Very faint lines indicate the mane.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, p.8, No. 229.

No. 316

Prov. Persian, Turkman style

Date Circa 1552

Med. Miniature

Motif Majnun and lion

Descr. From four poems of Nizami. Folio 136 depicts Laila and Majnun. Majnun is in the desert with his animal friends. The composition is very crowded with trees and river, deer, horned animals, hares, hyenas, a donkey and an ass. Two monkeys(?) bite each other playfully at the bottom of the picture. In the mid-left side a lion sits, its back haunches cut off by the frame. It has a massive head, its face sandy brown in colour with sharply marked nostrils and deep dark eyes. The mouth is open revealing fangs and a red tongue. Majnun is a very pale attenuated figure feeding the deer. The lion is by far the biggest animal in the picture.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, p.2., No. 222.

No. 317  
Prov. Persian  
Date 1566  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion in isolation  
Descr. A folio illustrating Qazwini's Wonders of Creation. It shows a lion. The lion is shown on a green ground, with clumps of green leaves. The lion is lying, head up, mouth open. It is a brown sandy colour, with white under the chin, forelegs and belly. Its ears are pricked up. The mane is executed in darker brown strands as is the brush of the tail. A black line rims the muzzle and eye. Its forepaws are crossed in a very relaxed position.

Loc. C U L  
Ref. Browne, A Catalogue, p.213a

No. 318  
Prov. Indian  
Date 1570  
Med. Manuscript  
Descr. The lion is shown prowling, with the sun behind him. The sun has a human face, and a corolla of rays. Nujum al-Ulum, folio 106.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Chester Beatty Library, Indian catalogue, No.2

No. 319  
Prov. Indian  
Date 1570

Med. Manuscript

Descr. Nujum al-Ulum, folio 57b. Lower illustration. Lion, paws outstretched, gold dots on head, paws and along body and tail. Upper illustration, centaur.

Loc. C B L

Ref. The Chester Beatty Library, Indian catalogue, No.2.

No. 320

Prov. Persian, Khurasan

Date Circa 1575

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lion

Descr. A folio from a Shahnama manuscript. It has a gold gilt sky with blue Chinese clouds and a blue hill. Two men on the left and two men on the right have Chinese faces. There are rocks and clumps of foliage and flowers. A lion has been chopped in half, the halves widely separated with a red girdle around the break in both halves. Its mouth is open as it grimaces. The mane is just a darker patch. The back paws looks as if they are still running. A man is sitting on an armoured horse in the lower part of the picture. The man carries a quiver and is shown running a sword through the lion's head, it comes out of the animal's mouth. The horse is standing, one foreleg on either side of the lion, which is stretched out, head tilted back.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, pp.64-65, vol. 3, No. 295.

No. 321

Prov. Persian, Safavid, provincial style  
 Date Late 16th century  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man killing lion  
 Descr. A miniature showing Mihr killing a lion on a hunting expedition with King Kaywan in Khwarazm. This is a crowded scene with cheetahs, horses and a blue hill and a green hill. Mihr is shown killing the lion with a dagger. The lion has grey whorls on its body and flaring eyebrows, it drips blood. Mihr is stabbing the lion in the chest, and seems to have his arms in its mouth.  
 Loc. Bod. L  
 Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, p. 167-168, Ms. Pers.d 30 (Beeston 2602) fol. 114a.

No. 322  
 Prov. Persian, Kazvin/Safavid  
 Date 1586  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man killing the lions  
 Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur killing the lions to attain the throne. In the foreground is a blue floor with geometric designs. Bahram is on the right, wearing a gold crown, blue robe, yellow shirt and orange pantaloons. He reaches forward to club the lion on the head. The lion strides growling, red tongue out, he is tawny with a mane and a lighter underbelly. He is chained to a post. The second lion lies upside down legs waving. This lion is lighter in colour with only a faint mane, mouth open, tongue lolling. It must have already been clubbed although there is no blood. It is also chained to a post. In the upper part of

the picture a row of courtiers talk standing on purple ground with geometric designs. There is a six-sided throne with a high back and a canopy of gold lined with blue - it is unoccupied except for a gold crown placed on it which varies slightly from the one Bahram Gur is wearing.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 115, Add 27302, f. 448b.

No. 323  
Prov. Persian  
Date c. 1590  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man hunting lions  
Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions with a club. Bahram Gur is riding through a landscape of grey hills and a blue-grey sky. Men on horses, carrying standards and wearing chain mail, approach from the right and left. Bahram Gur rides a white horse prancing from the right, he wears a blue skirt, orange shirt and has leg and arm plates and a metal helmet. He is striking a lion as it walks away from the horse, looking back. The lion is tawny yellow with staring eyes, ears laid back and a very long tail. Bahram Gur holds a grey ox-head club in his right hand, and is beating the lion over its brow. The ox-head club has horns and an expressive face.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 121, OR 4906, f. 482b.

No. 324  
Prov. Persian

Date c. 1590  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man hunting lions  
 Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions with a bow. This miniature has a sketch-like quality with loose brush strokes in painting. There is a blue sky, sandy mountain and a green pasture. A soldier peeps over the hill on the right side. Bahram Gur rides a brown horse, he is dressed in armoured plates on legs and arms and wears a metal helmet with red and black feather cockades. He has just loosed an arrow at the lion. The lion lies on its back at the foot of the picture, all four paws waving in the air, mouth open. It is tawny yellow. An arrow is lodged in its right shoulder, red lines indicate blood. An elderly man with a white beard, dressed in a short skirt and leggings, stands on the left of the picture gesticulating. All the figures and the lion appear quite large in comparison to the landscape.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat. 121, OR 4906, f. 486a.

No. 325  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date c. 1590  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man hunting lions  
 Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions with a bow. There is a grey-blue sky, purple rolling hills and a green pasture. Men wearing golden armour ride horses behind the hill from the right. Bahram Gur in the foreground, rides a large grey dappled horse with a blue saddle cloth. He wears a

gold helmet and arm plates and has a bow and quiver. His arms are outstretched as he has just released an arrow. One lion lies on its back almost under the horse, all four paws in the air, mouth open, struggling. It is a tawny colour, with darker lines for the mane. Two arrows are embedded in its right shoulder, ringed in blood. The second lion lies on its stomach, partly cut off by the frame of the picture, its mouth is open, snarling. Faint lines indicate the mane possibly it is a lioness. An arrow is lodged just in front of its right ear.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 121, OR 4906, f. 493b.

No. 326

Prov. Persian

Date c. 1590

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lions

Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions with a dagger. The miniature has blue-grey sky, purple hills and green pasture. Men ride behind the hills from the right and left. Bahram Gur in the centre on a brown horse wears armour over an orange underskirt and a blue shirt. The horse has a green saddle cloth. Bahram holds a dagger in his upraised right hand and is just about to pull a sword from his scabbard with his left hand. The lion has leapt on the back of his horse and Bahram Gur clasps its head under his left arm. The lion is yellow in colour with a pale underbelly, long claws and an open snarling mouth. It has a rather rounded bear-like face, its mane is indicated by dark shaded hairs. The lion bears wound marks on its

left shoulder. At the base of the picture another lion lies on its back, paws waving in the air, mouth open. It is cut in half below its front paws, with a gap between the two portions. There are bloody marks along the edges of the severed sections.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 121, OR 4906, f. 498b.

No. 327  
Prov. Persian. Kazvin/Safavid  
Date 1590-95  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man hunting asses and lions.  
Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting asses and lions. The setting consists of a blue sky with chinese clouds, men are riding over gold-gilt hills studded with flowers. Bahram Gur rides a blue-grey dappled horse over a grassy plain, he has just released an arrow. Wounded asses and a jackal look on. Two lions are visible to the right, one lies head lolling over paws, arrows through its back just in front of its front left haunch, the arrow is shown blood tipped as blood wells up around the wound. The lion is tawny with white underbelly, black muzzle and dark brown mane. The other lion strides right paw held up, an arrow through its flank which is bloodied. It has faint traces of a mane, open dark rimmed mouth and dark rimmed eyes looking up at Bahram Gur. Bahram Gur wears an orange robe and a gold and blue headdress with a white cockade.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 113, Add 27257, f. 387a.



No. 328  
Prov. Persian, Kazvin/Safavid  
Date 1590-95  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Hunting scene  
Descr. Shahnama. Hunting Scene. The double page illustration shows a green plain with gilt sky. The plain is inhabited by horned quadrupeds - deer, wolves and cheetahs. At the bottom are lions and lion cubs, fawn in colour, one has been hit by two arrows.  
Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 1123, Add 27257, f. 539b - 540a.

No. 329  
Prov. Persian, Isfahan style  
Date 1599  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Lion and other animals  
Descr. Taken from the Nuzhat-namah-l 'Alai. There is a blue sky with a sandy mountain edged in purple. The lion is sandy yellow, finely drawn, with an open mouth, red tongue, T shaped black nostrils, pointed ears, a ruff and mane around the neck. He strides down from the upper right, tail waving. He is flanked on the near side by white quadrupeds with black markings. They both stride towards a tiger, head turned to look at them as it strides away.  
Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, pp.31, No.

255.

No. 330  
Prov. Isfahan school  
Date Early 17th century  
Med. Line drawing  
Motif Man hunting lion  
Descr. A mounted lion hunter. A turbaned man on a prancing horse has just released an arrow at a roaring lion. The lion is being hit in the nose with the arrow. One paw is trying to remove it. The other three legs remain on the ground. The lion is powerfully and simply drawn. A Rocky landscape is delicately suggested.  
Loc. B M  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.5, pl.919b.

No. 331  
Prov. Persian  
Date Circa 1600  
Med. Miniature drawing  
Motif Lion killing another animal  
Descr. Calligraphic line drawing of a lion preying on an antelope(?) It is signed Mir Hashim. The lion bites the neck of the antelope. The antelope has its legs sprawled. The drawing is very delicate. It is found in a group of Persian miniatures dating from 1550 and later.  
Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, pp. 23-24 No. 246.

No.	332
Prov.	Persian (Golconda)
Date	Circa 1600
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Majnun and lion
Descr.	Taken from the <u>Arba'ah</u> of Hatifi. Two men visiting Majnun among the wild animals. There is a gilt sky and fungal mountains in a range of pastel shades. The green hillside is densely covered in green leaves and flowers. A spotted white snake-like creature is curled up. There is a leopard or cheetah and a donkey kneeling, a deer prances towards Majnun from one side while a hyena approaches from the other side. At the bottom are several creatures including a bear. The lion is sitting, mouth open in profile. The ruff and mane are marked in brown, the shoulders, chest and haunches well-defined, the tail is cut off by the frame. Majnun is skeletally thin, sitting and reaching out to pat a deer beside him, the other hand charms a grey snake uncoiling. To the right of the snake are two turbaned men. One looks quizzical, his fingers in his mouth while the other is gesturing.
Loc.	C B L
Ref.	Arberry, <u>The Chester Beatty Library</u> , Vol.3, pp.35-36 No. 261, fol. 446.

No.	333
Prov.	Provincial Mughal (Gujarat)
Date	1600-1
Med.	Miniature

Motif           Ghanim carrying the stone lion

Descr.       Anvar-i Suhaili. Ghanim carrying the stone lion. This is a full page miniature with a colophon at the top and bottom. There are rocky, fungal hills and buildings, including a mosque, tucked in the folds of the hills near a river. To the upper right, a group of men, bodies cut off by the hills, are gesturing. More men watch lower down. The focus of attention is Ghanim walking, carrying a white-grey lion over his shoulders, arms wrapped across its fore and hind legs. The lion is open mouthed, ears back, a very dead white, in contrast to the colourful landscape and people.

Loc.           B L

Ref.           Titley, cat. 190, OR 6317, f. 31b.

No.           334

Prov.          Provincial Mughal (Gujarat)

Date          1600-1

Med.          Miniature

Motif          The lion being drowned in the well

Descr.       Anvar-i Suhaili. The lion drowned in the well after having been tricked by the hare. This is a large picture, a box with text to the upper right. The landscape consists of trees, fungal rocks, green folding hills. A wide variety of animals are tucked into the folds, deer, goats, sheep and so on. Towards the bottom is a funnel shaped, brick built well. The lion is sprawled mouth open, on top of black swirling water. A grey hare watches, front paws on the ring of the well.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 190, OR 6317, f. 43b.

No. 335  
Prov. Provincial Mughal (Gujurat)  
Date 1600-1  
Med. Miniature  
Motif The lion killing the ass  
Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. The lion treacherously killing the ass. This is a rectangular miniature with colophons at the top and bottom. There is a green hill with fungal purple mountains visible on the horizon, sprays of flowers are scattered and a single tree. A grey jackal sits on a rock to the top right. The lion is in the centre. The ass is on its back, head thrown back, legs kicking. The lion stands on the asses neck, belly and hindquarters. Blood spurts where the lion's claws dig in. The lion is brown, maned, head turned, taking an enormous bite out of the hindquarters of the ass paws holding on to get a better grip. The lion is bigger than the ass. The gory kill is graphically shown.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 190, OR 6317, f. 140b.

No. 336  
Prov. Provincial Mughal (Gujarat)  
Date 1600-1  
Med. Miniature  
Motif The lion and another animal  
Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. Kamju'i the lion and Fariseh the jackal.

This is a small rectangular picture at the bottom of the page. There are green hills, grey and purple fungal rocks, a tree on the horizon and sprays of flowers. On the left are two lions. One lion is walking. It is large with open mouth, red tongue, big teeth, luxuriant mane. It appears to be talking to a jackal standing on the right slightly below it. The other lion is smaller seated below, front paws crossed, ears back, mouth open, red curling tongue, luxuriant mane, talking to a jackal or hare with large ears. Both these creatures are standing on the left. All four animals are the same fawn brown. Lions dominate this placid scene through their size and relaxed posture.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 190, OR 6317, f. 171a.

No. 337

Prov. Shiraz

Date 1600-1605

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lion

Descr. A folio showing a hunting scene, one mounted huntsman shoots backwards over his shoulder at a bear, another decapitates a wild boar. The third is drawing an arrow and the fourth is about to kill a lion which has leaped on his horse's shoulder. He is killing the lion with a scimitar. The lion is rearing up, back feet on the ground. It is a brown-beige colour with a white underbelly. Its mane has red lights and it has a bear-like face. The hunter rides a dappled grey horse and wears a turban ornamented with gold. The ground is green and the sky gold with Chinese clouds. A hunter at the bottom chases a deer.

Loc. Bod. L  
Ref. Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, p.115, Ms. Ouseley Add  
19 (Ethe 539) fol. 16, 2a.

No. 338  
Prov. Persian  
Date Circa 1605  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Bahram Gur, seizing crown from four lions  
Descr. Folio 50 is taken from the Shahnama and shows Bahram Gur winning the crown from between four lions. There are Chinese clouds and feathery trees. The hills are grey washed at the edges. behind the hill on the left two men are talking while on the right are more figures. In the main part of the picture is a king with a golden crown and a long tunic and trousers in grey, he is preparing to hit four lions, a pair on each side snarling up at him. He holds a bull headed mace and snatches a blue and gold crown from the ground. The lions are finely drawn with open mouths, floppy tongues and delicate nostrils and lines around the eyes. The paws are quite Chinese looking. There are four columns of print with soldiers at the side of the text.

Loc. C B L  
Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, p.43

No. 339  
Prov. Persian, Safavid provincial style  
Date 1610  
Med. Miniature sketch

Motif            Lion in isolation

Descr.           The folio shows a sketch of a young lion amid flowers. The sketch is executed in pencil. There is no text. The lion is lying down and looking back over its shoulder. It has a hairy face and pointed ears. Haunches and tail are clearly marked.

Loc.            Bod. L

Ref.            Robinson, A Descriptive Catalogue, p.168, Ms. Ouseley Add 95 (Ethe 461, 1067) fol. 28a.

No.            340

Prov.           Safavid

Date            1612

Med.            Miniature

Motif           Woman attacked by lion-ape

Descr.           The daughter of the Khagan of Chin about to be attacked by the lion-ape. The action takes place in a country setting with fungal mountains, clumps of flowers and a gilded sky. In the background a man leads a horse among the mountains. In the foreground are grassy plains. The Khagan of Chin is seated with his daughter who is pouring him a drink. Female courtiers and musicians are seated around. The lion-ape approaches down the fold of a mountain from the left. He is fawn coloured with an open, growling mouth, rounded ears and a dark mane. His haunches and back are visible giving a marvellous impression of approaching quietly with cunning, unseen by anyone.

Loc.            B L

Ref.            Titley, cat. 108, Add 7724, f.439b.



No. 341  
 Prov. Mughal  
 Date Early 17th century  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion faces  
 Descr. Shahnama. An enthroned figure sits on a six sided golden throne with a red, blue and gold cushion. The throne is set in a canopied interior only semi-painted. Columns are emblazoned with lion-like faces, sketched out with only manes, flaring eyes and bulbous noses.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat. 105, Add 5600, f.402b.

No. 342  
 Prov. Mughal  
 Date Early 17th Century  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man riding lion  
 Descr. Shahnama. The drunken shoemaker riding Bahram Gur's lion. The shoemaker is being brought to an enthroned figure, presumably Bahram Gur. The throne is gold with a lobed back and a six-sided black cushion and red cushion. The lion is tawny, mouth open, it pads along left paw up, the left front and rear legs are white as though just left unpainted. The drunken cobbler is seated on the lion, both legs coming down on the lion's right. He is dressed in purple and orange. Various other figures stand around and one woman follows the lion in. The architectural setting is only partly painted.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat. 105, Add 5600, f. 419b.

No. 343  
 Prov. Mughal  
 Date 1610-11  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man carrying a stone lion  
 Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. Ghanim carrying the stone lion up a mountain on his back. The setting is of a town surrounded by fungal mountains. Ghanim stands carrying the lion on his back. The lion is dark brown with a lighter underbelly. It is in a standing position, legs resting on the man's leg, front paws clasping the man's turban. Men stand in the town gesturing at this sight.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat. 188, Add 18579, f. 54b.

No. 344  
 Prov. Mughal  
 Date 1610-11  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lion and other animals  
 Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. The plains near Baghdad where the animals were dominated by a lion-Durga. A stream runs from the upper right, broadening at the base of the picture, edged with pastel coloured stones. Crane- like birds dip into the stream. Fungal pink mountains appear in the background. There are blossom or fruit bearing trees and green hillocks. The lion is seated on the bank of the river, tawny with white underbelly, flowing mane, pricked back ears, tail curling, mouth open, teeth and tongue

showing. He appears to be talking to a small tawny creature, a jackal? on the other bank. The lion dominates the landscape.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 188, Add 18579, f. 77b.

No. 345

Prov. Mughal

Date 1610-11

Med. Miniature

Motif The lioness with other animals

Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. The lioness in conference with the other animals. The setting consists of a folding hilly landscape. The lioness is seated on the upper left, one paw slightly forward, she is tawny with a white underbelly, no mane, gently rounded ears and lacking the volume of a male lion. She is talking to a small black bear cub. The other animals are seated or lying down, they consist of a cheetah, leopard, foxes, jackals, rabbits and various other creatures. The lioness is much larger than the leopard or cheetah.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 188, Add 18579, f. 146a.

No. 346

Prov. Mughal

Date 1610-11

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion killing a woman

Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. The lion killing the farmer's wife who

had eloped with a prince. The scene consists of reddish fungal mountains, green plain in the foreground with a tree growing at the bottom near a muddy river. A man on a white horse gallops past in the background, he turned watching the action. The lion is tawny with an indistinct mane. It almost looks like a lioness. He is killing a man, the man is twisted in a very odd position head pulled back, the lion has one paw on his chest and one paw holding down a forearm. The lion seems to be biting the man's chest, blood spurts. The lion is crouched tail stuck straight up in the air. There is a strong impression of tension in the lines of his body.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 188, Add 18579, f. 280b.

No. 347

Prov. Mughal

Date 1610-11

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and other animals

Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. Fariseh the pious jackal with kamju'i, the lion. A green plain is backed by fungal mountains against a gilt background. The lion is in front of the mountains lying in a relaxed posture, forequarters visible, hindquarters hidden by the mountains. Its mouth is open, ears pricked, front paws crossed, talking to a jackal, fawn in colour, seated head up ears pricked. The jackal is very small. Other animals prance in the background, deer, jackals, a leopard, a black bear and others.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 188, Add 18579, f. 311b.

No. 348  
 Prov. Mughal  
 Date 1610-11  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif The lion and another animal  
 Descr. Anvar-i Suhaili. The lynx and the lion. There are fungal mountains in the background and a green plain in the foreground. The lion is killing a deer-like creature seated, back legs holding its head down so that the underside of the neck is exposed, it is being killed and blood spurts.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat. 188, Add 18579, f. 337a.

No. 349  
 Prov. Persian, Isfahan/Safavid  
 Date 1612  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Woman attacked by lion ape.  
 Descr. Shahnama. The daughter of the Khagan of Chin about to be attacked by the lion-ape. The action takes place in a country setting with fungal mountains, clumps of flowers and a gilded sky. In the background a man leads a horse among the mountains. In the foreground are grassy plains. The Khagan of Chin is seated with his daughter who is pouring him a drink. Female courtiers and musicians are seated around. The lion-ape approaches down the fold of a mountain from the left. He is fawn coloured with an open, growling mouth, rounded ears and a dark mane. His haunches

and back are visible giving a marvellous impression of approaching quietly with cunning, unseen by anyone.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 108, Add 7724, f. 439b.

No. 350  
Prov. Persian, Isfahan/Safavid  
Date 1614  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Isfandiyar killing the lions  
Descr. Shahnama. Isfandiyar killing the lions. The miniature is full page, framed with trees and mountains escaping from the frame. Four colophons are inset at the bottom and one colophon at the top. The landscape consists of green grass, grey mud and pastel coloured rocks, in the background are fungal purple and green mountains. In the foreground Isfandiyar, helmeted and with a quiver of arrows, is dressed in gold and orange. He rides a black horse with a blue blanket. He is depicted in the act of swording tawny lions. One lion crouches, sprawled at the bottom of the page. He has a finely delineated face and staring eyes, his head rests on his front paws, his neck is blood spattered. The other lion stands tail lashing, facing the horse. The lion's mouth is open, red tongue showing. The lion is being sworded through the neck by Isfandiyar, the sword is shown going through as maroon blood spurts. Courtiers on horseback and perhaps on foot observe from the first fold in the mountains.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 110, Add 16761, f. 278b.

No. 351  
 Prov. Persian, Isfahan/Safavid  
 Date 1628  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Horse killing the lions  
 Descr. Shahnama. Rakhsh killing the lions in the first of Rustam's seven trials. This is a rectangular painting with colophons above and below. the paint is badly flaked. The setting is a purple plain with a tree and blue sky. On the upper right, Rustam sleeps beside the tree. He wears a tiger striped robe, blue shirt and leggings and a turban. He holds a sword and has armoured plates on the backs of his arms and the front of his legs. Rakhsh is in the foreground is brown dappled. He bites the neck of a sprawling lion, maned, dappled brown with spots. The lion and horse are just about the same colour. Near the bottom another lion lies twisted front paws down, back paws up in the air, tail out-stretched. This lion is also dappled brown with a thicker mane than the other lion.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat. 114, Add 27258, f. 88a.

No. 352  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date Circa 1640  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Lion in isolation  
 Descr. A folio taken from the Ikhtiyarat i Badi'i showing the lion. There is a gilt sky with purple edged hills. The animal is caramel brown, lying head resting on front paws.

It has a rather blank looking passive face. It is rather carelessly executed.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, pp.53-54 No. 281 fol. 8.

No. 353

Prov. Persian

Date 1645

Med. Miniature. From the Herbal of Dioscorides

Motif Lion and other animals

Descr. A folio from the Kitab I Hasha'ish showing a page of quadrupeds. At the top is a grey animal with grey spots, a square face, pointed ears and a tail straggling to an end. It has four jointed paws. The second animal is ass-like, yellow with big orange spots, donkey teeth, long ears and hoofed feet. The third animal is jackal-like with a long nose and ears and mauve spots. There is also a yellow animal, black with splodges and a cat face with orange eyes. The last animal is lion-like with brown spots and splodges on an orange body. There are grin-lines around its mouth, big orange eyes, pricked up ears. It strides, claws and paws clearly visible and has a long thick tail. There is no sign of a mane.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, pp.44-45 No. 273

No. 354



Prov. Persian

Date 1671

Med. Miniature

Motif Majnun and lion

Descr. Majnun with the animals, from the Khamisa of Nizami. There is a blue waterish sky, and orange and green land gently shading off into the horizon. A jagged fungal purple mountain rises on the left. A stream strewn with rocks gently curves through the painting. Animals include a grey quadruped and two dog-like quadrupeds, a doe and deer and two lions to the right of Majnun, one lying, one seated. They are both sandy-tawny coloured with white chests, open black encircled mouths and white teeth. Their ears are rounded and pricked up, fine lines in darker brown come down over shoulders indicating mane, the more rounded one may possibly be a lioness. One faces Majnun while the other looks away. There are two tigers on the other side of the river and a leopard drinks from it. Majnun is very thin, with an attenuated body.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, p.48, No. 276.

No. 355

Prov. Indian in style, copy made at Bukhara

Date 1671

Med. Miniature

Motif Bahram Gur seizing crown from 2 lions

Descr. Taken from the Khamisah of Nizami, folio 167 from the Haft Paiker shows Bahram Gur saving his crown by killing two lions. There is a pale blue washed sky and a light green

rounded hill. Men are visible waist high behind the crest of the hill wearing turbans and hats with feathers. Some have dark Indian faces, while others are flesh coloured. In the foreground is Bahram Gur dressed in a mustard brown costume sprinkled with gold. He has a bow over one shoulder and a quiver containing arrows is worn at the waist along with a sword. A lion lies to the left. It is on its back all four paws in the air, head turned back. Burgundy purple blood spills from its mouth and its tongue lolls. Thin lines indicate hair on the chest. It has sturdy legs and paws. Bahram Gur's foot rests on the lion's neck, near the blood covered ear. Bahram Gur's left foot rests on the head of the lion on the right which is lying on its front. Its head is curved round towards its front paws, the legs curled. Blood pours from the open mouth, nostril and ear, smearing over the paw under the head. Lines indicate the mane. Both lions are a light brown sandy colour with long thin curving tails. Bahram Gur holds a gold crown in his left hand. Soldiers stand discussing events at the bottom of the picture. Their backs are turned to the viewer. They carry round shields on their back, quivers, bows, swords, flags, spear and wear turbans or rounded hats.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Vol.3, p.48, No. 276

No. 356

Prov. Provincial Mughal

Date 17th century

Med. Miniature

Motif            Man hunting lion

Descr.           Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting, accompanied by Azadeh. This full page miniature is very badly damaged. The setting consists of rolling fields, a green plain and trees. Various figures on horseback, camels and one elephant, are galloping about. One figure to the right of the picture is leaning backwards off a grey galloping horse to sword a lion in the back of the neck. The lion is being stabbed with a dagger and a small puncture is visible. The lion is grasping the back haunches of the horse and seems to be biting The lion is tawny coloured, tail outstretched, the head is very badly damaged. Another figure probably Bahram Gur, faces forward off a brown horse to kill a tiger which has felled a man and is growling up. He swords it in the back of the neck and its blood drips.

Loc.            B L

Ref.            Titley, cat. 106, Add 6609, f. 446b.

No.            357

Prov.           Mughal

Date           Late 17th Century

Med.           Miniature

Motif           Horse fighting a lion.

Descr.           Shahnama. Raksh fighting the lion while Rustam sleeps. The illustration occupies the middle of the page, with colophons at the top and bottom. There is a green plain speckled with small delicately drawn clumps of flowers. There are two finely drawn trees one of which is in bloom. Rustam sleeps dressed in a tiger striped costume, helmeted with a red cushion under his head. He wears a sword, quiver and bow and has a bull headed mace strapped through

his belt. Lower down in the foreground is Raksh, brown, wearing an orange blanket. He holds down a sprawling lion with his front hooves, there is a reddish tinge around the hooves as if the lion is bleeding. Raksh is biting the lion through the backbone at the back of the haunches, blood spurts.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 107. Add 6610, f. 60b.

No. 358  
Prov. Indian, Punjabi  
Date 1719  
Med. Miniature  
Motif Man killing the lions  
Descr. Shahnama. Isfandiyar killing the lions. The landscape consists of an open hill, cypress trees on the horizon and small fungal rocks in vivid maroons and blues in the foreground. Isfandiyar is wearing a gold turban with black cockade and an orange robe and black boots, riding a white horse dappled in black. He wears a quiver at his waist and also has a mace with an animal head in gold. Isfandiyar has cut the lion in half through its middle, blood spurts from both halves. The lion has a tawny thick mane arranged in scallops and a grey ruff. Its ears are pricked and it has thick black brows. Another animal, with a dark grey tiger striped body and a grey ringed tail, is being sworded through the head as it rears towards the horse; it spurts blood. The animal has a brown mane and a yellow colour body under the stripes.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 112, Add 18804, f. 36a.

No.	359
Prov.	Indian, Punjabi
Date	1719
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Man killing the lions to gain the crown
Descr.	<p><u>Shahnama</u>. Bahram Gur killing the lions to gain the crown. The scene is set on a green hillside dotted with the outlines of flowers in a darker green. Houses and men peep over the hillside. A throne in gold, six-sided set on tinned legs, with an umbrella dome on a pole, sits empty, waiting. At the bottom left of the miniature Bahram Gur, dressed in purple with headdress and boots, a quiver of arrows at the waist, shield in the left hand, is leaning forward and bashing a lion over the head with a bull-headed gold mace. The lion is spurting blood and has a red line running across from its haunches to back. The lion mouth open, head down, is walking with tail between its legs. The second lion follows partly cut off by the frame of the picture. It too is maned mouth open, ears pricked back, also with a red line running from the inside of the front leg across its back. Two of its legs are chained to the legs of the throne by grey chains. The red line seems to be caused by the chains cutting into flesh.</p>
Loc.	B L
Ref.	Titley, <u>cat.</u> 112, Add 18804, f. 176a.

No.	360
Prov.	Indian, Punjabi

Date 1719  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man riding lion  
 Descr. Shahnama. The drunk shoemaker riding Bahram Gur's lions. The setting is a green plain, with two trees waving in the breeze, one on either side of a six-sided throne on cabriole legs with scalloped back. It is gold inlaid with gems. Bahram Gur, resplendent in red and gold wearing a crown, sits on a purple cushion. A dome on a pole is held over him. The shoemaker rides in from the left mounted on a striding lion. The lion is yellow with a curling luxuriant mane, pricked ears, open mouth, fangs and a red tongue and black spotted muzzle. The cobbler sits astride holding the lion by an ear, boots tucked under the belly and behind the shoulders. He holds another lion by a chain, the second lion has red lines across its shoulders. It resembles the first lion in appearance. It strides towards a fountain in the lower foreground of the picture. Courtiers stand by watching, and a gardener squats, pruning trees in the background.  
 Loc. B L  
 Ref. Titley, cat. 112, Add 18804, f. 180b.

No. 361  
 Prov. Indian, Punjabi  
 Date 1719  
 Med. Miniature  
 Motif Man hunting lions  
 Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions. The setting consists of a grassy pasture with blue fungal rocks towards the foreground. Bahram Gur rides a white horse, approaching

from the right. The horse has a gold bridle and bit and is shod in gold. Bahram wears a gem studded crown and is dressed in green and gold robes. He has a scabbard at his waist and a quiver. He sword a lion rearing towards his horse. The lion is brown with lighter underbelly and mane, its mouth is open; its claws are clear as it stands on its hind legs dark ringed tail lashing. The lion is being sworded slashed along the side of the face, blood spurting. In the lower portion of the miniature a smaller lion runs full tilt at a standing figure with sword upheld. Four smaller lions follow manes not clear if indeed they have manes, they have the same colouring and markings as the adults and appear to be cubs. A flesh coloured rabbit frantically runs in the opposite direction, mountain goats or sheep flee in the background to the left while the lions are running to the right. A man hides behind a rock, shield and sword held up.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 112, Add 18804, f. 194a.

No. 362

Prov. Indian, Punjabi

Date 1719

Med. Miniature

Motif Woman killed by lion-ape

Descr. Shahnama. The daughter of the Khagan of Chin being killed by the lion-ape. This is a large, full page illustration consisting of a green plain and purple mountains. Men and women at the bottom of the picture carry flasks and musical instruments. Three quarters of the way up the picture just before the fungal mountains, there is a dragon like

creature with spiralling tail, golden wings, a yellow body spotted with gold, white underbelly, golden wings on its legs and four clawed feet. It has flaring red eyebrows, a long open mouth lined in red and large teeth. It has three quarters swallowed the Khagan of Chin's daughter, her head and flailing arms just being swallowed. She is wearing a purple robe and gold crown studded with gems. The Khagan of Chin, wearing a crown is visible gesticulating in the background.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 112, Add 18804, f. 306a.

No. 363

Prov. Indian, Punjabi

Date 1719

Med. Miniature

Motif Man killing the lion-ape

Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Chubina killing the lion-ape. The lion ape is the same kind of creature as 306a. There are green hills inhabited with men wearing chain mail and in helmets, wielding swords, pikes and shields. On the left is a grey horse held by a groom. On the right Bahram Chubin with quiver, sword and shield, is swording the dragon cum lion-ape - gold in colour with an open mouth roaring gold and red flames and flame eyebrows, its body yellow spotted with gold, flames at the shoulders. Its head and forequarters only are visible the rest of the animal is submerged in muddy water. It has a bloodied head, arrows stuck into its eyes and near its ears.

Loc. B L



Ref. Titley, cat. 112, Add 18804, f. 307a.

No. 364

Prov. Persian

Date 1803

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and other animals

Descr. Iyar-i Danish (Anvar-i Suhaili). Dimna with the lion and the ox. The setting consists of a grassy plain with shrubs and flowering trees at the horizon. A lion is sitting to the right of the picture. He is tawny his tongue is hanging out and his big teeth are evident, his ears are pricked. He is the largest animal in the miniature. The ox is on the left lower down, he is standing ears back, head slightly raised in an attitude of listening; he is white. At the bottom, on the right, Dimna is seated ears pricked forward, head forward and mouth open. He is brown. He looks unattractive.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 12, OR 477, f. 67b.

No. 365

Prov. Persian

Date 1803

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and another animal

Descr. Iyar-i Danish (Anvar-i Suhaili). The hare outwitting the lion. The setting consists of green grass with small fungal mountains at the bottom of the miniature in green and purple, arranged in two rows. Above is a well

consisting of a stepped marble plinth with a round opening showing grey water. A lion lies sprawling grasping the edge of the well. He is tawny brown with luxuriant mane, tiger eye markings and a black ringed tail. The hare is greyish white. It crouches between the lion's front paws, ears pricked, looking up. The lion looks more foolish and bewildered than regal.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 12, OR 477, f. 84a.

No. 366  
Prov. Persian  
Date 1803  
Med. Miniature  
Motif The lion and other animals  
Descr. Iyar-i Danish (Anvar-i Suhaili). The wolf, fox and mongoose, who were the lion's servants. The scene consists of a landscape with sky, flowering trees and shrubs at the top of the picture, a grassy plain below. A grey wolf and red fox are seated, while the grey mongoose crouches. The three animals, all much smaller than the lion, sit listening to him. The lion is a tawny colour with tiger eye black stripes. The lion has arranged himself in a slightly uneasy crouch, he is open-mouthed, tongue out apparently talking, looking up rather than at the listening animals. The animals, in their alert and respectful attitude, are subservient to the lion.

Loc. B L  
Ref. Titley, cat. 12, OR 477, f. 90a.

No.	367
Prov.	Persian
Date	1803
Med.	Miniature
Motif	The lion attacking another animal
Descr.	<u>Iyar-i Danish (Anvar-i Suhaili)</u> . The lion attacking the ox. The setting is a folding landscape with grassy hillocks. Two deer are near the top of the picture both kneeling, one is brown, while the other is grey with a white spotted underbelly. A lion occupies the second fold in the landscape. He is by far the largest animal, tawny yellow with a full mane and tiger eye stripes, mouth open, big teeth showing, red tongue hanging out, he has a beige spotted underbelly and a wavy black ringed tail. The ox is shown at the bottom of the picture. He is small and white, lying neck and head resting in a pool of red blood, on his back under the hump, are more lines of red as if he had been slashed by the lion's claws.
Loc.	B L
Ref.	Titley, <u>cat.</u> 12, OR 477, f. 122a.

No.	368
Prov.	Persian
Date	1803
Med.	Miniature
Motif	The lion and another animal
Descr.	<u>Iyar-i Danish (Anvar-i Suhaili)</u> . The fox with the mangy lion. The landscape shows gentle folds of land, trees on the horizon, the sky is grey with a blush of dawn or sunset, there is a lake near the top of the picture. The lion is large, tawny in colour with a full mane and tiger

eye stripes. He is seated mouth open as if talking, tail lashing, looking at the sky. The lion dwarfs the fox, reddish brown in colour, neck outstretched, ears pricked listening to the lion.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 12, OR 477, f. 226a.

No. 369

Prov. Persian

Date 1803

Med. Miniature

Motif The lion and other animals

Descr. Iyar-i Danish (Anvar-i Suhaili). The lion, the lynx and the mouse. The lion stands amid the queer folds of landscape three quarters of the way down the picture frame. His tail is lashing, his mouth open displaying big teeth and a red tongue. His body is decorated with tiger eye stripes and he has a white spotted underbelly. The lynx appears at the top of the picture on the edge of the horizon, he is rather elongated with short legs, a long thin tail and big pricked ears. The mouse occupies a cave made of fungal rocks, just its front torso is visible. It is kneeling, ears pricked, looking at the lynx.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 12, OR 477, f. 281a.

No. 370

Prov. Mughal

Date c. 1820

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lions

Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions. There is a murky greyish-yellow sky, fungal hills in purple and small green trees. Soldiers with pikes approach behind the hills from the left and right. In the foreground is a dark-green pasture, through which Bahram rides from the right, on a brown horse. His horse has glittering trappings and he wears chain mail and holds a shield up in his left hand, while brandishing a sword in his right hand, a bow and quiver at his belt. One lion on the lower right (damaged) appears wounded, it is lying, one leg over the frame of the miniature. It has a luxuriant mane and ruff and a dark brown body with black tiger stripes. In the mid right of the picture a lion crouches and growls at the sword. Its mouth is open, ears back, ringed tail extending over the edge. It also has a thick mane and tiger striped body.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 126, OR 12483, f. 452a.

No. 371

Prov. Mughal

Date c. 1820

Med. Miniature

Motif Man hunting lions

Descr. Shahnama. Bahram Gur hunting lions. The miniature is lozenge shaped, set in an elaborately decorated page of text. The action is crowded towards the right of the picture. There is a threatening blue-grey sky, small purple fungal mountains and a green pasture. Bahram, mounted on a white horse, rides from the right with

retainers on horse-back following. He is dressed in armour and gold-starred glittering clothes, as are his men, his gold helmet is inset with jewels; he holds the reins in his left hand and a sword in his right hand. He is in the act of swording a lion rearing up at his horse. The lion is very dark brown, with a grey mane and ruff, red marks on its underbelly and legs, its paws are clutching at the horse, bloodying the animal. The lion has a waving tail and black tiger stripes on its body. To the left at the bottom of the picture, cut off by the frame, is another lion, front paws outspread, head flopped, also with a luxuriant mane and tiger stripes, its body splotched with blood.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 126, OR 12483, f. 460b.

No. 372

Prov. Persian, Qajar

Date 1830-33

Med. Miniature

Motif Horse fighting lions.

Descr. Shahnama. The miniature has a sketch like rapid quality. It is executed in a stepped format. Rustam dressed in blue and purple is asleep on the left in an odd pose. Raksh, dappled brown, is on the right. The lion, which is very large, is underfoot sprawling, blood spurting from wounds made by the horse's hooves. It is yellow with a darker mane, rounded head held up. This manuscript is sparsely illustrated with spaces left blank.

Loc. B L

Ref. Titley, cat. 118, OR 2926, f. 133b.

No.	373
Prov.	Persian
Date	Not dated
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Man killing lions
Descr.	An illustration from the <u>Shahnama</u> . The miniature has a gold sky, purple mountains and chrysanthemum like trees. Figures peer over, three on each side. A polygonal enclosure, gold on the outside with a dome in blue decorated with star shapes appears on the main ground. Outside the enclosure is a crowned figure. He bashes a lion over the head with a lion's head on a pole. The lioness appears to be chained to the enclosure and she snarls at the man. To the right of the man is a decapitated lion, blood pouring from the neck. It is larger and may be a male. Fine lines in red may indicate the mane. Its head lies on the other side of the stream. The stream is dark grey with purple and blue rocks.
Loc.	C U L
Ref.	Browne, <u>A Catalogue</u> , p.287

No.	374
Prov.	Persian
Date	Not dated
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lions and other animals
Descr.	Taken from the <u>Khamasa</u> of Nizami. There is a man in the centre on an octagonal platform, dressed in a red and green robe and a white and red turban, with a gold flame halo.

Two angels have wings. Behind the platform is a purple mountain studded with green leaves, red flowers. There are birds and deer among other animals. Some of these are sky birds and a simurgh, with trailing flame-like streamers. A green man and a red man are talking to an orange creature, all dotted and with gold brows and lips. The man seated on the platform is talking to an orange creature with black horns, there is also a purple creature with horns. Animals crouch in the foreground. Two lions appear to be listening to a seated creature, they are laying down. Other animals include jackals, a tiger, leopard or cheetah. In the grey pool is a tortoise. There are brown, fawn and blue horses.

Loc. C U L

Ref. Browne, A Catalogue, p.305

No. 375

Prov. Persian

Date Not dated

Med. Miniature

Motif Lion in isolation

Descr. Taken from the Qazwini Wonders of Creation this folio shows a lion(?) possibly female. There is no mane and it is not entirely certain that this animal is a lion, but it is the same colour and shape as the previous lion. It is shown against an ochre coloured background with sprays of grasses and leaves in green. Its tail protrudes over the edge of the frame. The animal is a fawn-flesh colour with a white chin and underbelly. It has pricked up feathered ears. It is lying in a crouching position. There are thin lines, possibly indicating a mane on the back of the neck. All



the animals in this section of the manuscript are in a listening attitude.

Loc. C U L

Ref. Browne, A Supplementary Handlist, p.140

No. 376

Prov. Persian

Date Not dated

Med. Miniature

Motif Bahram Gur seizing crown from 2 lions

Descr. This miniature is not described in the Chester Beatty catalogue. It seems to be Bahram Gur wresting the crown from between two lions. It is taken from the Khamsa of Nizami. The gilt sky is inhabited by red birds and white Chinese clouds, trees appear on the horizon. Black helmeted figures appear over the mountain. The ground is green and red with clumps of foliage. Two men and the head of a horse are visible over a small rise. The ruler has a dark helmet with red trim and a Chinese face, he wears a blue robe over orange and burgundy boots. He holds a gold and grey crown with long white feathers. One foot rests on a lion sprawled to the left. The lion is brown with a white patch for the muzzle, it has hair on its elbows and a lighter belly and a long tail. The lion to the right is sprawled downwards facing away from the other lion. It is slightly lighter, its tail waves up hill. Blood is visible around the mouths of both lions and also on their paws.

Loc. C B L

Ref. Arberry, The Chester Beatty Library, Ms. 162, fol.192.

No.	377
Prov.	Persian
Date	Not dated
Med.	Miniature
Motif	Lion in isolation
Descr.	<p>A folio from Qazwini's <u>Wonders of Creation</u> showing a lion. The picture has no frame and has uneven edges. The purple ground is dotted with sprays of grey leaves. The lion is in the act of stretching, it seems to be female as there is no mane. It is a fawn and flesh colour with a white underbelly, its mouth is open and the fangs are shown in profile. It has small flattened back ears. Tufts of hair are shown on them. The tail has a brush at the end. Groups of leaves curve up around the lion.</p>
Loc.	C U L
Ref.	Browne, <u>A Supplementary Handlist</u> , p.140

## MISCELLANEOUS

No.	378
Prov.	Jordan
Date	724-743
Med.	Mosaic
Motif	Lion attacking another animal
Descr.	The apse mosaic from Khirbat al-Mafjar shows a tree with golden fruit and lush spreading branches, with deer grazing on one side and on the other a lion attacking a gazelle, paws grasping the gazelle's back while it bites through the backbone. The lion has a ferocious expression, luxuriant mane, powerful body and waving tail. The stag is attenuated with lines indicating its ribs and slender legs.
Loc.	Khirbat al-Mafjar
Ref.	Ettinghausen, <u>Arab Painting</u> , p.39
No.	379
Prov.	Jordan
Date	2nd quarter 8th century
Med.	Stucco-painted
Motif	Man and 2 lions
Descr.	Painted statue of a prince standing on a pedestal with two lions - the prince wears a long coat and baggy trousers and holds a dagger or sword. The lions in relief on the pedestal are seated on their haunches - back to back with a rosette between them their faces lean forward - mouths open eyes glaring. Facial lines on muzzle and around eyes of lion on left are heavily delineated. Both are heavily maned.
Loc.	Khirbat al-Mafjar

Ref.            AAI, fig. 28, p.56.

No.            380

Prov.          Jordan

Date          743

Med.          Stone, carved

Motif         Lion and Bull

Descr.        The lion and the bull appear in Triangle E at Mschatta.  
They flank an amphora from which they both appear to drink.

Loc.          Jordan

Ref.          Kühnel, Studies, Fig.5

No.            381

Prov.          Jordan

Date          743

Med.          Stone, stucco

Motif         Lions and other animals

Descr.        Triangle G of the facade of Mshatta shows two lions seated  
raising one paw each on either side of a Sasanian vase.  
Birds and a hare inhabit the vines surrounding them

Loc.          Jordan

Ref.          Kühnel, Studies, Triangle G

No.            382

Prov.          Jordan

Date          743

Med.          Stone, stucco

Motif         Lions and birds

Descr.        Triangle H of the facade of Mshatta shows two seated lions

which appear to be drinking from a vase in the centre.  
There are bird inhabited vines surrounding them.

Loc. Jordan  
Ref. Kühnel, Studies, p.141, Triangle H, Fig.8

No. 383  
Prov. Diyarbakr  
Date 909 AD, dated by inscription  
Med. Stone, carved  
Motif Lion and bull combat  
Descr. Kharput Gate at Diyarbakr, reconstructed by al-Muqtadir (909 AD). Carved with a lion-bull combat scene. A frieze of five animals appears on the upper part of the niche while in the centre the bull and lion confront each other across a bird of prey.

Loc. Diyarbakr  
Ref. Baer, Oriens, Vol.20, 1967, p.114

No. 384  
Prov. Diyarbakr  
Date circa 909 (reign of al-Muqtadir)  
Med. Stone, carved  
Motif Lion - Bull  
Descr. The Mardin gate bears an inscription referring to al-Muqtadir and an emblem consisting of a lion and a bovine creature flanking an eight pointed star  
Loc. Diyarbakr  
Ref. Baer, Oriens, Vol.20, 1976, p.114-115

No. 385  
 Prov. Egypt  
 Date 1st half 10th century  
 Med. Rock crystal  
 Motif Lion  
 Descr. Lion in rock crystal. Lion is crouching. It is simple in form, with laid back rounded ears, a rounded face and lines indicating eyes and mouth. Its flanks are decorated with a half palmette design on its hindquarters and a stem connecting it with paired split palmettes on the forequarters. There is a cylindrical barrel in its chest 2.5cm in length and a similar barrel from the underbelly 7.4cm in length.  
 Loc. London: Keir collection  
 Ref. B.W. Robinson, Keir Collection, (1988), p.296-97.

No. 386  
 Prov. Spain, Cordoba  
 Date 968  
 Med. Ivory  
 Motif Men, lions and other animals  
 Descr. Ivory pyxis showing on one side seated princes drinking and eating, lute-player standing between them. Below are two lions standing back to back, faces turned towards viewer. Both lions are maned, ears pricked, facial lines shown. Tails are crossed and tasselled ends are flared. Other parts of decoration show birds and falconers, deer and other quadrupeds. Other side shows mounted horsemen in centre, men wrestling, trained quadrupeds fighting and in top left, two lions devouring bull or deer. Inscription runs around rim of lid. Lid has nine animals, some of

which seem to be lions.

Loc. Paris, Louvre.  
Ref. AAI, pl.129, p.148-149.

No. 387  
Prov. Egypt?  
Date 975-6  
Med. Rock crystal  
Motif Lion and other animal  
Descr. Rock crystal ewer of Al-Aziz Billah seated lion, head up, mouth slightly open, ears pricked back. Lines delineating facial markings, large eyes, collar around neck, spots on body, ring markings around legs - digits of feet shown. Tail very thin, curled up, ends in plant-like scroll. Vegetal forms on rest of ewer, inscription on shoulder, horned ibex crouching on top of handle.  
Loc. Venice, S. Marco Treasury  
Ref. AAI, pl. 177, p.192.

No. 388  
Prov. Egypt?  
Date 10th century  
Med. Cut glass  
Motif Lions as single animal  
Descr. 'Hedwig glass' with lions. Lion shown prancing head up, tail waves in air - shown side near on, cross hatched lines indicate mane on back of head, front of chest and along back. Cross hatched lines on back haunches indicate fur. Long digits for feet, left front paw raised. Tail cross hatched, lashing.

Loc. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum  
Ref. AAI, Pl. 184, p.197.

No. 389  
Prov. Egypt?  
Date 10th? 12th century?  
Med. glass, wheel cut decoration  
Motif Lion and eagle  
Descr. Beaker with wheel cut decoration, one of Hedwig glass series. Lion walking, head up and tail curled high over shortened body. Mane and facial details marked by hatched and cross-hatched lines. Eye shown by circle, pricked ears, rounded face, volumetric body, rounded club feet. Eagle also appears on glass.

Loc. British Museum  
Ref. Reg. No. 1959 4-14.1.

No. 390  
Prov. Spain, Granada  
Date 11th century  
Med. Stone, sculpture  
Motif Lions as a single image  
Descr. Twelve lions placed around a central basin. Lions face outward, grimacing faces, water spouting from mouths, rounded ears. Heavy manes executed in waves and ringlets, each lion's mane has individual details.  
Loc. The Alhambra, Court of the Lions  
Ref. see Grabar, The Alhambra, for discussion



No. 391

Prov. Cuenca, Spain

Date 1026

Med. Wood faced with ivory

Motif Lion killing bulls with other animals

Descr. Rectangular casket of wood faced with ivory, with pitched side and flat top. Front panel of box, carved ivory, three registers of animals amid foliate decoration, winged griffins, winged lions and lions biting through necks of bulls, this motif repeated four times. Lions shown with all four paws resting on the bodies of the bulls, lion's ears forward, mouth open, large eyes and heavily scalloped mane. In bottom register at the centre a man on horseback is in the process of killing a lion by sword, the lion has reared up at his horse - he is facing backwards, holding a shield against the lion in one hand and an upraised sword in the other. In other vignettes men on foot are loosing arrows at animals which may be lions.

Loc. Burgos, Museo, Arquelogico Provincial

Ref. AAI, (EH), p.153, pl.133.

No. 392

Prov. Sicily, Fatimid

Date 12th century

Med. Carved ivory

Motif Man killing lion

Descr. Plaque, upper scene, man killing lion, putting spear through lion's breast, point visible on flank of lion. Lion roars up at man, holding man's bended leg with right paw. Lion has heavy mane, face heavily marked, protruding eyes

and open mouth. Lion's body is powerfully muscled with ribs showing. Scene below, harvester returning laden with sack. Palmette scroll fill interstices.

Loc. Florence, Museo Nazionale

Ref. AAI, p.205, p.198.

No. 393

Prov. Sicily?

Date 12th century Fatimid

Med. Carved ivory

Motif Lion killing bull and other animals

Descr Ivory plaque - decorated with lute player, bird, deer, shown lute player and lion kills hump back bull. Lion stands on top of bull, holds it down, bull twists as lion bites its spine at the neck. Lion powerfully shown, face well-delineated, heavy flowing mane, powerful body, tail up lashing, muscled haunches. Below man holds spear up.

Loc. Berlin (Dahlem Staatliche museum, museum fur Islamische kunst.

Ref. AAI, p. 204, pl. 197.

No. 394

Prov. Jazirat ibn 'Umar

Date Second half 12th century

Med. Stone, carved

Motif Lion as zodiac sign

Descr. The reliefs depict 1) Saturn and Libra 2) Jupiter and Cancer 3) Mars and Capricorn 4) the Sun and Leo 5) Venus and Pisces 6) Mercury and Virgo 7) the Moon and Taurus

8) Sagittarius and possibly Mars. Leo is shown as a lion surrounded by the sun, and is designated by inscription as the exaltation of the sun. Reliefs on a bridge.

Loc. Jazirat ibn 'Umar

Ref. Hartner, AI, 5, (1938), p.119

No. 395

Prov. Northwest Iran-Hamadan

Date second half 12 century

Med. Stone, carved

Motif Man hunting lion

Descr. A stone slab showing on one side a lion and zebu leaping at one another in the centre. The zebu has a humped back and two horns, within its body is a small horned quadruped, there is also a quadruped in the body of the lion, although in this case hare-like. Three hounds or wolves run above. Below are two human figures, flanked by a running hound or wolf, while the figure on the right leads an ass-like animal on a rope. The opposite side depicts a hunter on horseback, accompanied by a cheetah and greyhound. The hunter stabs a lion through the mouth. A second much smaller hunter on foot prepares to spear the lion through its belly. Two hounds attack the lion from above and below while an ibex looks on in the upper left corner, a similar animal may have occupied the upper right corner now chiselled off. The lion has a waving bifurcated tail, slender legs and large, rather horselike face on both examples

Loc. Haifa Museum of Ancient Art, Israel. No.2172

Ref. Baer, Oriens, 20 (1967), p.III, Figs. 1 and 2

No. 396

Prov. Northwest Iran-Hamadan

Date Late 12th or early 13th century

Med. Stone, carved

Motif Lion and other animals

Descr. On this stone slab, on one side are carved two confronted stone sphinxes, surrounded by a border of small running quadrupeds and a carved star motif. On the other side a lion confronts a horned quadruped amid vegetation with hares running underneath. A cable border surrounds them. The lion is small bodied with a large head and rather horselike features, it appears to have a split scroll-like tail. It has a large mane. The quadruped is horned with a small body and features.

Loc. M L 6713

Ref. Baer, Oriens, 20 (1967), pl.V 1 and 2

No. 397

Prov. Diyarbakr

Date 1207-08

Med. Stone, carved

Motif Lion - bull combat

Descr. Lion - bull combat scene on a Diyarbakr gate with a fragmentary inscription dating to 1207-08 during the reign of the Artuqid Mahmud b. Muhammad.

Loc. Diyarbakr

Ref. Hartner, Ettinghausen, Oriens, 17 (1964), p.167 (no photograph)

No. 398  
Prov. Iraq  
Date 1222  
Med. Stone  
Descr. The Talisman Gate in Baghdad shows two dragons menacing a figure. They have wings and two forelegs, their bodies re tied in knots. Two lions crouch at the bottom of the arch.  
Loc. Baghdad  
Ref. Hartner, "The Pseudoplanetary Nodes of the Moon's Orbit in Hindu and Islamic Iconographies". Ars Islamica 5 (1938), fig.26.

No. 399  
Prov. Konya  
Date 13th century  
Med. Stucco, carved  
Motif Man killing lion  
Descr. A fragment of a stucco frieze on which men on horseback respectively sword a dragon, and a lion which has leapt on the back of a horse.  
Loc. Museum, Konya  
Ref. Kühnel, The Minor Arts, p.241, Fig.205

No. 400  
Prov. Sicily  
Date 13th century  
Med. Ivory  
Motif Lion attacking animal, man attacking lion  
Descr. An ivory casket with painting. On the lid is a scene of an ox and a lion biting a hare(?) The box itself is decorated

with roundels, birds, a lion and a man. The man spears a lion, reaching from one roundel to the other. The lion seems to be grasping a spear in his mouth.

Loc. Museum Dahlem, Berlin  
Ref. Kúhnel, The Minor Arts, p.232, Fig.197

No. 401  
Prov. Seljuq, possibly northwest Iran, Hamadan  
Date End of 13th century?  
Med. Stone, carved  
Motif Lion - bull combat  
Descr. A stone slab on which a lion attacks the bull from the rear and is confronted with small quadrupeds. These may be as early as the second half of the 12th century  
Loc. S M B  
Ref. Baer, Oriens, 20 (1967), p.124

No. 402  
Prov. Egypt, Mamluk  
Date ca 1270  
Med. Glass  
Motif Lion as a single image  
Descr. Glass perfume sprinkler, cylindrical neck, globular flattened body. Each flat side bears a shield divided into two fields. The upper field shows a lion facing left, its right paw lifted and its tail curved over its back. One shield depicts a white lion on a red ground above blue and yellow stripes, the other side shows a reddish-brown lion on a white ground above red and yellow stripes.  
Loc. New York, Corning Museum of Glass, 69.1.2

Ref.           Atil, Art of the Mamluks, p.128, No.46.

No.           403

Prov.       Mamluk, Egypt

Date       Late 13th century

Med.       Glass

Motif       Lion as zodiac sign

Descr.      A glass bowl decorated with signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs are contained in medallions in gold on a blue ground. The signs are Aries the ram, Taurus the bull, Gemini represented by two figures, Cancer as a figure holding a crescent moon, Leo as a lion pacing with the sun above his back, Virgo as a woman holding some vegetation, Libra as a duck supporting a balance, Scorpio as two scorpions, Sagittarius as a centaur archer, Capricorn as a goat, Aquarius as a man carrying a bucket, and Pisces as a pair of fish.

Loc.       The Toledo Museum of Art 41.37

Ref.       Atil, Art of the Mamluks, p.129, No.48

No.           404

Prov.       Northwest Iran Hamadan

Date       1303-4

Med.       Stone, carved

Motif       Lion and other animals

Descr.      A stone slab carved on one side with a geometrical interlacing design and a stylized plant motif while at the front of the slab two lions atop columns walk side by side, behind them a stepped compartment encloses a hare looking back. A plant ornament tops the lions. On one side a lion

attacks a stag from the rear. The lion is standing on its hind legs, its front paws on the stag's back, as the stag looks back at it. The lion is considerably larger than the stag. Hidden in the vegetation above the lion is another hare. The slab is inscribed with the name of the owner, a Hajji Hasan b. Ibrahim and the date of completion 1303-4.

Loc. M M A

Ref. Baer, Oriens, 20 (1967), pl.VI

No. 405

Prov. Turkish, Ottoman

Med. Paper cut

Motif Lion attacking deer

Descr. Tree on right hand side underneath which lion bites into hindquarters of deer, grasps hindquarters with front paws. Lion faces left, deer faces right, legs bowed, head back. Birds peck away at ground.

Loc. B M

Ref. 1953. 2-14.01.

No. 406

Prov. Iran - Isfahan

Date 17th century

Med. Stone

Motif Lion masks

Descr. Stone fountain. Decoration in relief consists of a woman and other figures holding lion masks. The lion heads are round-faced with grinning mouths, bulbous noses, rounded ears and lines fringing faces indicating ruffs and manes.

Loc. Chehel Sotun gardens



Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, fig.17, p.21.

No. 407

Prov. Iran, Isfahan

Date 17th century

Med. Stone

Motif Lions as a single animal

Descr. Stone column base, relief carved decoration. Opposed lions, seated. Rounded heads, deep lines around mouths, small triangular noses, tiny rounded ears. Powerful bodies, luxuriant long curling manes.

Loc. Chehel Sotun Palace

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.18, fig.19.

No. 408

Prov. Iran, Isfahan

Date 17th century

Med. Stone, carved

Motif Lion as a single image

Descr. Sculpture of stone lion at the Imamzadeh Ahmad, memorial to Pahlavan Mohammad. Lion executed in abstract fashion, standing, face round, mouth open, small ears, not naturalistic, body barrel shaped. Inscriptions in cartouches decorate flanks as well as a sword and dagger.

Loc. Isfahan

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.31, fig.37

No. 409

Prov. Iran, Isfahan

Date 17th century  
 Med. Stone, carved  
 Motif Lion as a single image  
 Descr. Stone lion at the Imamzadeh Ahmad. Crouching lion, head resting on front paws, mouth closed, snub faced, rudimentary markings, benign expression. Tail curved along flank.  
 Loc. Isfahan  
 Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.31, fig.38

No. 410  
 Prov. Iran, Shiraz  
 Date 18th century  
 Med. Stone  
 Motif lion as a single image  
 Descr. Stone lion at the Imamzadeh Shah Cheragh. Lion standing on a raised base, right paw slightly extended. Body and head rounded, mouth open, rounded ears, collar around neck, tail curved over back.  
 Loc. Shiraz  
 Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.35, fig.45

No. 411  
 Prov. Iran, Kashan  
 Date 19th century  
 Med. Painted plaster  
 Motif Lion as a single image  
 Descr. Painted plaster relief of a lion above the door of the Imamzadeh Ibrahim in Kashan. Lion standing, head erect, tail down. Veristic representation, heavily maned and

well-muscled.

Loc. Kashan

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.25, fig.29

No. 412

Prov. Iran, As-o Pas (near Abadeh)

Date Early 20th century

Med. Stone

Motif Lion as a single image

Descr. Standing lion, abstract in form, features not delineated, rounded featureless face, large splayed forepaws, squared hind legs. Tail curved over back.

Loc. As-o Pas (near Badeh)

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.35, fig.46

No. 413

Prov. Iran, Shiraz

Date early 20th century

Med. Stone

Motif Lion as a single animal

Descr. A stone fountain in the shape of a lion's head. Lion rounded, round open mouth, incised lines indicate whiskers, rounded ears.

Loc. Shiraz

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.17, fig.18

No. 414

Prov. Iran

Date early 20th century

Med. Lithograph

Motif. Lion and sun

Descr. Lithograph of Imam Ali with Imam Hasan and Imam Hoseyn. Ali is the central figure in niche flanked by the other two. Below a lion walks, tail up. It is covered with inscriptions. Behind the lion is a human-faced sun and corolla.

Loc. Not given

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.24, fig.27.

No. 415

Prov. Iran

Date mid 20th century

Med. Printed image

Motif Lion and man

Descr. Printed image of Imam Ali and his sons with a lion. In the centre of the image is a striding lion, covered in calligraphy, pointed face, luxuriant mane. The lion carries Ali and his sons on its back.

Loc. Not given

Ref. Tanavoli, Lion Rugs, p.25, fig.28

## TEXTILES

No. 416  
 Prov. Egypt  
 Date 6th - 7th century  
 Med. Silk textile  
 Motif Men hunting lions  
 Descr. A cloth decorated with a pair of horsemen spearing lions,  
 framed in a medallion  
 Loc. B M  
 Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 179, No.9 Kitzinger,  
Medieval Art no.14.

No. 417  
 Prov. Iran  
 Date 8th - 10th century  
 Med. Textile  
 Motif Winged lions  
 Descr. A silk textile decorated with confronted pairs of winged  
 lions seated beneath arcades of round arches. The lions  
 have serpent tails  
 Loc. Rheims Cathedral  
 Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 302, No. 170, (Schmidt,  
Persian Silks, p. 284, pl. 1c.

No. 418  
 Prov. Iran(?)  
 Date 8th - 10th century  
 Med. Textile

Motif           Lions in isolation

Descr.          A silk textile executed in dark blue and gold on a red ground. The motif consists of pairs of confronted seated lions. The lions peer across fire altars. The mane is executed in spirals, a disc is visible on the shoulder and a large disc surrounding a star decorates the haunches. The animals' tails curl over their backs.

Loc.           Church of La Couture, Le Mans

Ref.           Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 303, No. 171 (von Falke, Decorative silks, fig. 103).

No.            419

Prov.          Iran(?)

Date          circa 10th century(?)

Med.          Textile

Motif          Lions in Isolation.

Descr.          A silk showing a fragment of a lion, executed full face. The lion has curls on the head, chest and belly. Its eyes are large and ringed with eyelashes. A zig-zag pattern decorates the mane which is edged by a pearl band and an inscription in pseudo Kufic inscription decorates the flank. Scrolling branches surround the animal, and a bell flower hangs over its head.

Loc.          Servatius' Cathedral Treasury, Maastricht.

Ref.          Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 302, No. 169, (Shepherd, Technical Aspects, pl. 1506A)

No.            420

Prov.          Iran

Date          probably 10th century

Med. Silk

Motif Lions, men and animals

Descr. Fragment of cloth with falconers flanking a tree, motifs enclosed in irregular interstices framed by bands of geometric design. Falconers face each other with falcons on their arms, underneath their feet are a pair of lions couchant, regardant. Lions have features delineated by sharp dark lines, dark lines emphasise haunches and short lines indicate manes. Other interstices in design have hares and floral motifs.

Loc. Washington DC, Textile museum

Ref. AAI, p. 244, pl. 261

No. 421

Prov. Baghdad(?)

Date 10th century(?)

Med. Textile

Motif Lions in Isolation.

Descr. A silk embroidered in green, cream, light blue and brown and gold thread. Lions walk in repeated rows shown with their faces in three quarter profile. They are drawn with a double outline. Scrolls emphasise the hip and shoulder joints and their feet are clawed. There are large tufts on the tails and round discs on the joints of the legs.

Loc. B M F A

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 301, No. 168, (Britten, Islamic Textiles, fig. 12).

No. 422

Prov. Iran

Date 994  
 Med. Textile, silk  
 Motif Winged lions  
 Descr. On this silk a pair of winged horned lions confront each other on either side of a conventionalized tree. A pair of undulating confronted serpents are pinned beneath the paws of the lions.

Loc.

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", No. 173, (Shepherd, Technical Aspects, pls. 1507-1508a).

No. 423  
 Prov. Spain(?)  
 Date 10th - 12th century  
 Med. Textile  
 Motif Lion and bird  
 Descr. The silk is black and yellow on a red ground. It shows a stylized design with part of a lion shown in profile, flanking a tree bearing grape-like fruit. The lion has zig-zag decoration on its neck and small discs above its paws, while a large disc appears on the haunch. A bird strides above the lion, in the same scale.

Loc. Maastricht

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 314, No. 186, (Volbach, EDT, No.65).

No. 424  
 Prov. Iran  
 Date 10th - 11th century  
 Med. Textile



Motif           Winged lion

Descr.          A green silk with a winged lion with a senmurvs head. Cloth, now in fragments, seems to have had pairs of confronted animals, flanking a tree. There were also medallions surrounding birds.

Loc.            Schlossmuseum, Berlin

Ref.            Grigg, "Iconography", p. 306, No. 174 (Kendrick, Textiles, pl111c).

No.             425

Prov.           Iran

Date            10th - 11th century

Med.            Silk textile

Motif           Winged lions and other animals

Descr.          A silk cloth decorated with winged lions, their tails terminating in horned goats heads, leap onto the backs of spotted quadrupeds, arranged on both sides of a conventionalized tree. A pair of confronted griffons are situated below the lions. All the animals have stars on their rumps. This is a repeat medallions pattern. The frames filled with running quadrupeds. A band of Kufic inscription runs between the roundels. In the interstices is a tree flanked by two birds and two quadrupeds contained in a lozenge within a polygonal compartment

Loc.            C M A   No.50.84 & Textile Museum, Washington

Ref.            Grigg, "The iconography", p. 306, No. 175

No.             426

Prov.           Iran

Date            10th - 11th century

Med.           Silk textile  
Motif           Man killing lions  
Descr.        The design shows a 'lion-strangler' in a frontal position  
              choking a rampant lion in each hand. The scene is framed in  
              a roundel. The man is dressed elaborately in a costume of  
              a long tunic belted at the waist ornamented with geometric  
              patterns. The bodies of the lions are decorated with  
              similar geometric patterns.

Loc.           M L

Ref.           Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 308, No. 177

No.           427

Prov.          Iran, Buyid

Date          10th century

Med.          Textile

Motif         Lions and birds

Descr.        Silk fragment. Roundel contains two confronted peacocks  
              with foliate motif in centre. Beneath the feet of the two  
              birds are two confronted lions.

Loc.          Cleveland Museum of Art

Ref.          CMA 68. 227

No.           428

Prov.          Iran, Buyid

Date          10th century

Med.          Textile fragment

Motif         Winged lion and bull or horse

Descr.        Textile fragment. Opposed pairs of winged lions bite necks  
              of bulls or horses. Lion's prey is twisted in an unnatural  
              position. Lion bites under side of throat, rests all four

paws on prey. One pair of lions on each side of central palmette. Birds above and winged felines below. All enclosed in roundel.

Loc. Cleveland Museum of Art

Ref. CMA, 68. 221

No. 429

Prov. Iran

Date circa 10th - 11th century

Med. Textile

Motif Winged lions

Descr. A silk showing a pair of confronted winged lions, flanking a tree. They raise a paw towards it. Scroll patterns emphasise the base of the wings and the hip joints. The tree has long scrolling branches at the top and base.

Loc. Sens Cathedral Treasury

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 315, No. 188, (May, Spain, fig.20).

No. 430

Prov. Iran

Date circa 11th century

Med. Textile

Motif Winged lions

Descr. A silk cloth in gold on green decorated with winged lions addorsed regardant, flanking a tree. Medallions frame the animals which are surrounded by scrolling plants. Small octagons fill the spaces between medallions.

Loc. V & A T 259 1927

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 307, No. 176 (Ackermann,

No.	431
Prov.	Spain
Date	11th century
Med.	Silk
Motif	Lions and other animals
Descr.	Silk fragment partial roundel showing stylised tree, flanked on either side by two addorsed lions, looking away from each other, on the backs of two elephants looking towards each other. Lions in turn have birds addorsed regardant on their bodies. Lions striding tails up, heads down, faces turned towards front. Faces flat, large eyes and nose, small rounded ears, curly stylised mane on neck and along ridge of spine, thin legs, powerful paws. Elephants have elaborate trappings. Roundel edged by inscription.
Loc.	Leon, San Isidoro
Ref.	<u>AAI</u> , p. 242, pl. 259

No.	432
Prov.	Iran
Date	11th - 12th century
Med.	Textile, silk
Motif	Lions and other animals
Descr.	The cloth has a pair of confronted lions shown three quarter face walking towards a stylized tree bearing long scrolling branches in which rest two large birds. They are repeated in roundels bordered with cheetahs, spotted bulls and other quadrupeds. Star motifs with a Kufic inscription

are placed in the interstices.

Loc. (formerly) Read Coll.

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 309, No. 179a (Ackerman, Textile Arts, p. 2033, No. 21).

No. 433

Prov. Iran

Date 11th - 12th century

Med. Textile, silk

Motif Winged lions and other animals

Descr. On this cloth a pair of confronted winged lions, sejant, their tails ending in horned goats heads, are on either side of a tree with birds resting in its branches. The lower branches spread below their feet. At the centre at the top of the tree is an oval jewelled device. Long scrolling branches fill the remaining space. Octagons containing four birds in small roundels fill the interspaces, four pairs of birds appear on the outside of the frame.

Loc. V & A No. T 184 1930

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 310, No. 180, (Ackerman, Textile Arts, No. 20, pl. 990).

No. 434

Prov. Iran

Date circa 12th century

Med. Textile, silk

Motif Lions and birds

Descr. A tree is flanked by a pair of confronted crouching lions. The long foliate branches of the tree fill the oval frame.

A pair of birds fly above. The motif is repeated in oval medallions bordered with a Kufic inscription. Slightly smaller medallions bordered by tiny quadrupeds and filled with a foliate device alternate with the other design. In between the smaller medallions on the vertical axis are lozenges filled with pairs of birds. The background is covered with a diaper pattern.

Loc. Moore Collection, Yale University

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p.308, No. 178. (Pope, Masterpieces, pl. 69)

No. 435

Prov. Spain(?)

Date circa 12th century

Med. Textile

Motif Lions and birds

Descr. A silk textile in red and gold on a buff ground. Small circles enclosed by interlaced quatrefoils surround seated confronted lions in pairs. The animals are small set against a busy ground. Linked roundels frame the animals, repeated in horizontal rows. Pairs of stylized birds are framed in smaller roundels in alternate rows. These too, frame a tree.

Loc. Karachi Museum

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 304, No. 172, (Shepherd, Technical Aspects, pl. 1506b)

No. 436

Prov. Spain, Almeria - Hispano -Islamic

Date 12th century

Med. Textile  
 Motif Lion strangler  
 Descr. A central figure grasps two rather dog-like creatures, possibly lions, one in each hand. They are seated, looking up. They wear collars. Quadrupeds are underfoot. All enclosed in roundel.  
 Loc. Cleveland Museum of Art  
 Ref. CMA, 50. 146.

No. 437  
 Prov. Spain  
 Date 12th century  
 Med. Textile fragment  
 Motif Lion as a single animal  
 Descr. Textile fragment, seated winged lion looking over its shoulder. Foliate motifs in interstices. Design abstract. Lion's mane rendered in zig-zag stripes of different colours, dark body and spotted tail.  
 Loc. Cleveland Museum of Art  
 Ref. CMA, 74. 99

No. 438  
 Prov. Spain(?)  
 Date circa 12th century  
 Med. Textile  
 Motif Winged lion  
 Descr. A fragment with a single winged lion, presented face frontally, seated in front of a pillar ending in a palmette. Its limbs are decorated with discs and a pearl

collar and zig-zag designs decorate the neck.

Loc. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam  
Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 314, No. 187, (May Spain,  
fig. 32)

No. 439  
Prov. Spain(?)  
Date circa 12th century  
Med. Textile  
Motif Lions in isolation  
Descr. A silk with red ground. The design consists of pairs of  
lions, addorsed regardant, flanking a tree. Medallions  
frame the animals, bordered with a scroll pattern.

Loc. Werner Abegg Coll. New York  
Ref. Grigg, "Iconography", p. 315, No. 189

No. 440  
Prov. Spain  
Date circa 12th century  
Med. Textile  
Motif Winged lions  
Descr. A silk with a stylised design of protomes of addorsed  
winged lions, wings and bodies joined at the centre. Pearl  
bands decorate the base of the wings, their necks are  
ornamented with zig-zag decoration and pearl collars.  
Scroll joints on the forelegs and spots on the chest  
complete the decoration.

Loc. Museo Arquelologicco Nacional, Madrid  
Ref. Grigg., "The Iconography", p. 316, No. 190, (May, Spain,  
fig. 20)



No. 441

Prov. Islamic Spain

Date 12th century

Med. Silk textile

Motif Man killing lion

Descr. On this cloth a human figure in a frontal position is strangling a lion monster under each arm. He is dressed in a green tunic with red scroll patterns and a large studded belt. Little birds holding foliage in their beaks stand between his feet which are spread apart. The lion monsters trample small quadrupeds underfoot. The motif is repeated in medallions, there are also eight pairs of confronted griffons. Horizontal bands of Arabic inscription also decorate the cloth.

Loc. Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Cleveland Museum, Cooper Union Museum, New York.

Ref. Grigg, "Iconography", p. 316, No. 191.

No. 442

Prov. Islamic Spain

Date 12th century

Med. Textile

Motif Lions and harpies

Descr. A silk textile, red and green on an ivory ground. It is decorated with intertwined lions and harpies, in pairs. The rampant lions, turn their heads round to grasp confronted male headed harpies. Between the animals grows a conventionalised tree. Linked medallions surround the animals. The border shows a kneeling figure between two winged animals, in a repeat pattern. An inscription states

that the silk was made in Baghdad, but this is false.

Loc. B M F A

Ref. Grigg, "The Iconography", p. 317, No. 192, (Shepherd, Dated Hispano-Islamic Silk, pl. 7.

No. 443

Prov. Islamic Spain

Date 12th century (1107-43)

Med. Silk textile

Motif Lions and other animals

Descr. Pairs of rampant lions, addorsed regardant flank a stylised tree. A small quadruped is under the feet of each lion. The motif is repeated in medallions with beaded borders. Palmettes occupy the spaces between the medallions, growing out from a central star device. Two bands of Kufic inscription read "Victory from God to Amir al-Muslimin 'Ali. These refer to the Almoravid Caliph ruling between 1107-43 A.D. Prince Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Tashfin.

Loc. Quintanilla near Burgos

Ref. Grigg, "Iconography", p. 318, No. 193, (Shepherd, Dated Hispano-Islamic Silk, pl. 7)

No. 444

Prov. Islamic Spain

Date 12th century

Med. Textile, silk

Motif Lions and birds

Descr. On the piece of material pairs of confronted peacocks flanking a palmette tree and pairs of stylised lions, addorsed regardant appear in alternate rows of lozenges.

Loc. V & A

Ref. Grigg, "Iconography", p. 320, No. 195, (May, Spain, fig. 34)

No. 445

Prov. Persian

Date 16th century(?)

Med. Velvet, textile

Motif Lion - bull combat

Descr. This piece of cloth is rectangular. On the outer borders a lion pursues a bull, around all four sides. The animals are spaced between flower motifs. In the inner field lions snarl at cow-like animals. The lions are in two rows, standing on their hind legs, facing up. Horse-like creatures in two rows face down, going at a furious gallop. Birds and flowers make up the rest of the design.

Loc. Musée des Tissus, Lyons

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1020

No. 446

Prov. Persian

Date 16th century

Med. Textile, twill tapestry

Motif Men, lions and other animals

Descr. On this piece there is a quatrefoil in the centre with a capped man dressed in an orange robe. He is seated on a polygonal throne. He holds a book in his hand. Winged musicians play above and below him. There are deer, birds, horned deer and prancing lions contained in other roundels.

Loc. Czartorysky Museum

Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1090

No. 447  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 16th century  
 Med. Textile, satin  
 Motif Men, lions and other animals  
 Descr. On this piece of material the scenes are arranged in vertical strips. Figures are talking, cooking and playing musical instruments. A lion is snarling or talking to another animal. Cloven hoofed animals are running.  
 Loc. V & A  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6

No. 448  
 Prov. Persia, Kashan?  
 Date mid 16th century  
 Med. Textile  
 Motif Lions, hunting scene  
 Descr. This piece of cloth is decorated with a hunting scene executed very much in the style of a miniature painting. Sandy coloured mountains are sprinkled with clumps of flowers. Men on horseback and foot hold birds and wave swords at white, horned animals. They carry dead animals and hold bows and arrows. In the lower left a man on horseback is looking back and firing a bow at a snarling white lion-like animal. A snake curls around a tree.  
 Loc. Collection Mrs W. H. Moore.  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1092

No. 449  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date Late 16th century  
 Med. Textile, velvet and metal  
 Motif Men and lions, hunting  
 Descr. A circular piece of cloth with the centre missing. Turbaned horsemen pursue animals including a spotted lion or cheetah. Purple lions grapple with green hoofed animals while a yellow maned lion pursues an animal not shown. A man on foot grapples with a purple tiger and a man on horseback in the centre faces a lion. The lion would seem to have been rearing up at the horse, only the hindquarters of the lion are visible, the rest has been destroyed.  
 Loc. B M F A  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1023

No. 450  
 Prov. Persia  
 Date Late 16th century  
 Med. Textile, velvet and metal strip.  
 Motif Men hunting lions  
 Descr. A piece of velvet on which figures on horseback with quivers of arrows, grapple by hand with a lion rearing up. The lion is well delineated with a tawny coat, a man grasps the lion by the back of the ruff and mane. The horse has a greenish tint. Another man on horseback is firing an arrow at an indistinguishable animal. Elsewhere a lion grapples with a bovine animal, the lion executed in maroon red with staring green eyes while the bovine animal is greeny brown.

Loc. Possession Loewi (formerly)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1025

No. 451  
Prov. Persia  
Date 16th or 17th century  
Med. Textile, satin  
Motif Lion and other animals  
Descr. A piece of cloth. A spotted brown animal bites the rear quarters of a white ass, alternating with horizontal bands of tawny brown lions, grappling with cow-like animals. The lion has a long tasselled white tail. Small brown animals are galloping.  
Loc. Benaki Museum Athens  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1041 (colour)

No. 452  
Prov. Persia, Kashan  
Date 17th century  
Med. Silk and metal  
Motif Man attacks lion, lion attacks horse  
Descr. A section of a cope. A man in the boughs of a tree, shoots down with a bow and arrow at a lion attacking his horse. The lion with a bushy tail and faintly marked mane has leapt on the saddle of the horse and is preparing to bite the horse's neck. The horse seems to be galloping. This is a repeat pattern.  
Loc. Possession Parish-Watson (formerly)  
Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol.6, pl. 1071a

No. 453  
 Prov. Persian  
 Date 17th century  
 Med. Textile  
 Motif Winged lion in isolation  
 Descr. A piece of twill with metal thread, fringed and folded in half. It has a flower border with a ovoid rosette in the centre. A lion appears above and below it. It is winged and holds part of the testament of the Evangelist between its paws:  
  
 PAXTIBIMARC  
 EVANGEL  
 ISTAME  
 Loc. Oruzhainaya Palace, Moscow  
 Ref. Pope, A Survey, Vol. 6, pl. 1055b

No. 454  
 Prov. Persia, Yazd  
 Date circa 1610-20  
 Med. Textile, satin  
 Motif Majnum and lion  
 Descr. On this piece of material, Layla is shown riding to Majnun. Layla is in a domed throne on top of a camel. This is repeated in three bands. Majnun appears repeated four times. He is very thin and dark, hard to see. He is surrounded by animals, including a dog or jackal, spotted animal, small hare-like animals, deer and a lion lying down, head on paws looking back at either a spotted animal or Layla. The piece is inscribed 'the work of Ghiyath Yazd'

Loc.	Possession Kelekian (formerly)
Ref.	Pope, <u>A Survey</u> , Vol. 6, pl. 1040b
No.	455
Prov.	Persian, Yazd
Date	Inscribed circa 1610-1620
Med.	Textile
Motif	Majnun and lion
Descr.	Satin, on black ground Layla and Majnun. The lions snarl at antlered stags. The lions stretch back leg behind. The deer turn away. This is a repeat pattern at the top towards the left and at the bottom towards the right. In between a camel with a throne on top, domed and curtained containing the seated Layla is led by a retainer. In the centre of the scene Majnun in an emaciated condition sits with some animals around him. The textile is inscribed 'The work of Ghiyath, Yazd'
Loc.	Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
Ref.	Pope, <u>A Survey</u> , Vol. 6, pl. 1039b
No.	456
Prov.	Iran, Isfahan
Date	19th century
Med.	Textile
Motif	Lion and sun
Descr.	Block printed cloth banner. Lion prowling, ears pricked, mouth open. Lion's body decorated with calligraphic inscriptions. On lion's back is a smiling sun. Other decoration includes a human face in cartouches and inscriptions.



Loc.	Private coll.
Ref.	Tanavoli, <u>Lion Rugs</u> , p. 27, fig. 32.
No.	457
Prov.	Iran, Isfahan
Date	19th century
Med.	Textile
Motif	Lion and sun
Descr.	Block printed cloth, triangular banner. Striding lion, open mouthed, body decorated with calligraphy, sun on his back. Background floral motifs.
Loc.	Private collection
Ref.	Tanavoli, <u>Lion Rugs</u> , p. 26, fig. 31.
No.	458
Prov.	Iran
Date	1885
Med.	Textile
Motif	Lion and tree
Descr.	Printed textile, central motif two confronted lions, one on either side of tree. Lions have mouths open, semi-sitting on haunches, tails bent over backs, bodies covered in talismanic inscriptions. Talismanic inscriptions form roots of tree. Dated 1303 A.H./1885 by the order of Naser ed Din Shah for the Shrine of Imam Reza, Mashwad.
Loc.	Private coll.
Ref.	Tanavoli, <u>Lion Rugs</u> , fig. 61.